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THE MEMOIRS OF BABUR

SECTION II. KĀBUL¹

910 AH.—JUNE 14TH 1504 TO JUNE 4TH 1505 AD.²

(a. *Bābur leaves Farghāna.*)

In the month of Muḥarram, after leaving the Farghāna country intending to go to Khurāsān, I dismounted at Ailāk-yilāq,³ one of the summer pastures of Ḥiṣār. In this camp I entered my 23rd year, and applied the razor to my face.⁴ Those who, hoping in me, went with me into exile, were, small and great, between 2 and 300; they were almost all on foot, had walking-staves in their hands, brogues⁵ on their feet, and long coats⁶ on

Haidarā-
bād MS.
Fol. 120.

¹ As in the Farghāna Section, so here, reliance is on the Elphinstone and Haidarābād MSS. The Kehr-Ilmsky text still appears to be a retranslation from the *Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī* and verbally departs much from the true text; moreover, in this Section it has been helped out, where its archetype was illegible or has lost fragmentary passages, from the Leyden and Erskine *Memoirs*. It may be mentioned, as between the First and the Second *Wāqi'āt-i-bāburī*, that several obscure passages in this Section are more explicit in the First (Pāyanda-ḥasan's) than in its successor ('Abdu-r-rahīm's).

² Elph. MS. f. 90b; W.-i-B. I.O. 215, f. 96b and 217, f. 79; Mems. p. 127. "In 1504 AD. Ferdinand the Catholic drove the French out of Naples" (Erskine). In England, Henry VII was pushing forward a commercial treaty, the *Intercursus malus*, with the Flemings and growing in wealth by the exactions of Empson and Dudley.

³ presumably the pastures of the "Ilak" Valley. The route from Sūkh would be over the 'Alā'u'd-dīn-pass, into the Qizil-sū valley, down to Ab-i-garm and on to the Ailāq-valley, Khwāja 'Imād, the Kāfirnigān, Qabādīān, and Aūbāj on the Amū. See T.R. p. 175 and Farghāna Section, p. 184, as to the character of the journey.

⁴ Amongst the Turki tribes, the time of first applying the razor to the face is celebrated by a great entertainment. Bābur's miserable circumstances would not admit of this (Erskine).

The text is ambiguous here, reading either that Sūkh was left or that Ailāq-yilāq was reached in Muḥarram. As the birthday was on the 8th, the journey very arduous and, for a party mostly on foot, slow, it seems safest to suppose that the start was made from Sūkh at the end of 909 AH. and not in Muḥarram, 910 AH.

⁵ *chārūq*, rough boots of untanned leather, formed like a moccasin with the lower leather drawn up round the foot; they are worn by Khīrghīz mountaineers and caravan-men on journeys (Shaw).

⁶ *chāpān*, the ordinary garment of Central Asia (Shaw).

their shoulders. So destitute were we that we had but two tents (*chādar*) amongst us; my own used to be pitched for my mother, and they set an *ālāchūq* at each stage for me to sit in.¹

Though we had started with the intention of going into Khurāsān, yet with things as they were² something was hoped for from the Ḥiṣār country and Khusrau Shāh's retainers. Every few days some-one would come in from the country or a tribe or the (Mughūl) horde, whose words made it probable that we had growing ground for hope. Just then Mullā Bābā of Pashāghar came back, who had been our envoy to Khusrau Shāh; from Khusrau Shāh he brought nothing likely to please, but he did from the tribes and the horde.

Fol. 120a.

Three or four marches beyond Ailāk, when halt was made at a place near Ḥiṣār called Khwāja 'Imād, Muḥibb-'alī, the Armourer, came to me from Khusrau Shāh. Through Khusrau Shāh's territories I have twice happened to pass;³ renowned though he was for kindness and liberality, he neither time showed me the humanity he had shown to the meanest of men.

As we were hoping something from the country and the tribes, we made delay at every stage. At this critical point Sherīm Ṭaghāī, than whom no man of mine was greater, thought of leaving me because he was not keen to go into Khurāsān. He had sent all his family off and stayed himself unencumbered, when after the defeat at Sar-i-pul (906 A.H.) I went back to defend Samarkand; he was a bit of a coward and he did this sort of thing several times over.

(b. *Bābur joined by one of Khusrau Shāh's kinsmen.*)

After we reached Qabādīān, a younger brother of Khusrau Shāh, Bāqī *Chaghānīānī*, whose holdings were Chaghānīān,⁴ Shahr-i-ṣafā and Tirmīz, sent the *khatīb*⁵ of Qarshī to me to

¹ The *ālāchūq*, a tent of flexible poles, covered with felt, may be the *khargāh* (kibitka); Persian *chādar* seems to represent Turkī *aq awī*, white house.

² i.e. with Khusrau's power shaken by Aūzbeḡ attack, made in the winter of 909 A.H. (*Shāhīnāma* cap. lviii).

³ Cf. ff. 81 and 81b. The armourer's station was low for an envoy to Bābur, the superior in birth of the armourer's master.

⁴ var. Chaghānīān and Saghānīān. The name formerly described the whole of the Ḥiṣār territory (Erskine).

⁵ the preacher by whom the *Khuṭba* is read (Erskine).

express his good wishes and his desire for alliance, and, after we had crossed the Amū at the Aūbāj-ferry, he came himself to wait on me. By his wish we moved down the river to opposite Tirmīz, where, without fear [or, without going over himself],¹ he had their families² and their goods brought across to join us. This done, we set out together for Kāhmard and Bāmīān, then held by his son³ Aḥmad-i-qāsim, the son of Khusrau Shāh's sister. Our plan was to leave the households (*arwi-ai*) safe in Fort Ajar of the Kāhmard-valley and to take action wherever action might seem well. At Aībak, Yār-'alī Balāl,⁴ who had fled from Khusrau Shāh, joined us with several braves; he had been with me before, and had made good use of his sword several times in my presence, but was parted from me in the recent throneless times⁵ and had gone to Khusrau Shāh. He represented to me that the Mughūls in Khusrau Shāh's service wished me well. Moreover, Qam̄bar-'alī Beg, known also as Qam̄bar-'alī *Silākh* (Skinner), fled to me after we reached the Zindān-valley.⁶ Fol. 121.

(c. *Occurrences in Kāhmard.*)

We reached Kāhmard with three or four marches and deposited our households and families in Ajar. While we stayed there, Jahāngīr Mīrzā married (Aī Begīm) the daughter of Sī. Maḥmūd Mīrzā and Khān-zāda Begīm, who had been set aside for him during the lifetime of the Mīrzās.⁷

Meantime Bāqī Beg urged it upon me, again and again, that two rulers in one country, or two chiefs in one army are a source of faction and disorder—a foundation of dissension and ruin.

¹ *bī bāqī* or *bī Bāqī*; perhaps a play of words with the double meaning expressed in the above translation.

² Amongst these were widows and children of Bābur's uncle, Maḥmūd (f. 27b).

³ *aūghūl*. As being the son of Khusrau's sister, Aḥmad was nephew to Bāqī; there may be in the text a scribe's slip from one *aūghūl* to another, and the real statement be that Aḥmad was the son of Bāqī's son, Muḥ. Qāsim, which would account for his name Aḥmad-i-qāsim.

⁴ Cf. f. 67.

⁵ Bābur's loss of rule in Farghāna and Samarkand.

⁶ about 7 miles south of Aībak, on the road to Sar-i-tāgh (mountain-head, Erskine).

⁷ *vis.* the respective fathers, Maḥmūd and 'Umar Shaikh. The arrangement was made in 895 AH. (1490 AD.).

"For they have said, 'Ten darwishes can sleep under one blanket, but two kings cannot find room in one clime.'

If a man of God eat half a loaf,
He gives the other to a darwīsh ;
Let a king grip the rule of a clime,
He dreams of another to grip."¹

Fol. 121b. Bāqī Beg urged further that Khusrau Shāh's retainers and followers would be coming in that day or the next to take service with the Pādshāh (*i.e.* Bābur); that there were such sedition-mongers with them as the sons of Ayūb *Begchūk*, besides other who had been the stirrers and spurs to disloyalty amongst their Mīrzās,² and that if, at this point, Jahāngīr Mīrzā were dismissed, on good and friendly terms, for Khurāsān, it would remove a source of later repentance. Urge it as he would, however, I did not accept his suggestion, because it is against my nature to do an injury to my brethren, older or younger,³ or to any kinsman soever, even when something untoward has happened. Though formerly between Jahāngīr Mīrzā and me, resentments and recriminations had occurred about our rule and retainers, yet there was nothing whatever then to arouse anger against him; he had come out of that country (*i.e.* Farghāna) with me and was behaving like a blood-relation and a servant. But in the end it was just as Bāqī Beg predicted;—those tempters to disloyalty, that is to say, Ayūb's Yūsuf and Ayūb's Bihlūl, left me for Jahāngīr Mīrzā, took up a hostile and mutinous position, parted him from me, and conveyed him into Khurāsān.

(*d. Co-operation invited against Shaibāq Khān.*)

Fol. 122. In those days came letters from Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, long and far-fetched letters which are still in my possession and in that of others, written to Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā, myself, Khusrau Shāh and Zū'n-nūn Beg, all to the same purport, as follows:—
"When the three brothers, Sl. Maḥmūd Mīrzā, Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā, and Aulūgh Beg Mīrzā, joined together and advanced

¹ *Gulistān* cap. i, story 3. Part of this quotation is used again on f. 183.

² Maḥmūd's sons under whom Bāqī had served.

³ Uncles of all degrees are included as elder brethren, cousins of all degrees, as younger ones.

against me, I defended the bank of the Murgh-āb¹ in such a way that they retired without being able to effect anything. Now if the Aūzbegs advance, I might myself guard the bank of the Murgh-āb again; let Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā leave men to defend the forts of Balkh, Shibarghān, and Andikhūd while he himself guards Girzawān, the Zang-valley, and the hill-country thereabouts." As he had heard of my being in those parts, he wrote to me also, "Do you make fast Kāhmard, Ajar, and that hill-tract; let Khusrau Shāh place trusty men in Hīṣār and Qūndūz; let his younger brother Walī make fast Badakhshān and the Khutlān hills; then the Aūzbeg will retire, able to do nothing."

These letters threw us into despair;—for why? Because at that time there was in Tīmūr Beg's territory (*yūrt*) no ruler so great as Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, whether by his years, armed strength, or dominions; it was to be expected, therefore, that envoys would go, trading on each other's heels, with clear and sharp orders, such as, "Arrange for so many boats at the Tirmīz, Kilīf, and Kīrkī ferries," "Get any quantity of bridge material together," and "Well watch the ferries above Tūqūz-aūlūm,"² so that men whose spirit years of Aūzbeg oppression had broken, might be cheered to hope again.³ But how could hope live in tribe or horde when a great ruler like Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, sitting in the place of Tīmūr Beg, spoke, not of marching forth to meet the enemy, but only of defence against his attack?

Fol. 122b.

When we had deposited in Ajar what had come with us of hungry train (*aj aūrūq*) and household (*awi-aīl*), together with the families of Bāqī Beg, his son, Muḥ. Qāsim, his soldiers and his tribesmen, with all their goods, we moved out with our men.

¹ presumably the ferries; perhaps the one on the main road from the north-east which crosses the river at Fort Murgh-āb.

² Nine deaths, perhaps where the Amū is split into nine channels at the place where Mīrzā Khān's son Sulaimān later met his rebel grandson Shāh-rukḥ (*Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*, Elliot & Dowson, v, 392, and A.N. Bib. Ind., 3rd ed., 441). Tūqūz-aūlūm is too far up the river to be Arnold's "shorn and parcelled Oxus".

³ Shaibāq himself had gone down from Samarkand in 908 AH. and in 909 AH. and so permanently located his troops as to have sent their families to them. In 909 AH. he drove Khusrau into the mountains of Badakhshān, but did not occupy Qūndūz; thither Khusrau returned and there stayed till now, when Shaibāq again came south (fol. 123). See Sh. N. cap. lviii *et seq.*

(e. *Increase of Bābur's following.*)

Fol. 123. One man after another came in from Khusrau Shāh's Mughūls and said, "We of the Mughūl horde, desiring the royal welfare, have drawn off from Ṭāikhān (Ṭālikān) towards Ishkīmish and Fūlūl. Let the Pādshāh advance as fast as possible, for the greater part of Khusrau Shāh's force has broken up and is ready to take service with him." Just then news arrived that Shaibāq Khān, after taking Andijān,¹ was getting to horse again against Ḥiṣār and Qūndūz. On hearing this, Khusrau Shāh, unable to stay in Qūndūz, marched out with all the men he had, and took the road for Kābul. No sooner had he left than his old servant, the able and trusted Mullā Muḥammad *Turkistānī* made Qūndūz fast for Shaibāq Khān.

Three or four thousand heads-of-houses in the Mughūl horde, former dependants of Khusrau Shāh, brought their families and joined us when, going by way of Sham-tū, we were near the Qīzil-sū.²

(f. *Qambar-'alī, the Skinner, dismissed.*)

Qambar-'alī Beg's foolish talk has been mentioned several times already; his manners were displeasing to Bāqī Beg; to gratify Bāqī Beg, he was dismissed. Thereafter his son, 'Abdu'l-shukūr, was in Jahāngīr Mīrzā's service.

(g. *Khusrau Shāh waits on Bābur.*)

Khusrau Shāh was much upset when he heard that the Mughūl horde had joined me; seeing nothing better to do for himself, he sent his son-in-law, Ayūb's Yaq'ūb, to make profession of well-wishing and submission to me, and respectfully to represent that he would enter my service if I would make terms and compact with him. His offer was accepted, because Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* was a man of weight, and, however steady in his favourable disposition to me, did not overlook his brother's side in this matter. Compact was made that Khusrau

¹ From Tam̄bal, to put down whom he had quitted his army near Balkh (Sh. N. cap. lix).

² This, one of the many Red-rivers, flows from near Kāhmard and joins the Andar-āb water near Dūshī.

Shāh's life should be safe, and that whatever amount of his goods he selected, should not be refused him. After giving Yaq'ūb leave to go, we marched down the Qīzīl-sū and dismounted near to where it joins the water of Andar-āb.

Fol. 123b.

Next day, one in the middle of the First Rabi' (end of August, 1504 AD.), riding light, I crossed the Andar-āb water and took my seat under a large plane-tree near Dūshī, and thither came Khusrau Shāh, in pomp and splendour, with a great company of men. According to rule and custom, he dismounted some way off and then made his approach. Three times he knelt when we saw one another, three times also on taking leave; he knelt once when asking after my welfare, once again when he offered his tribute, and he did the same with Jahāngīr Mīrzā and with Mīrzā Khān (Wais). That sluggish old mannikin who through so many years had just pleased himself, lacking of sovereignty one thing only, namely, to read the *Khutba* in his own name, now knelt 25 or 26 times in succession, and came and went till he was so wearied out that he tottered forward. His many years of begship and authority vanished from his view. When we had seen one another and he had offered his gift, I desired him to be seated. We stayed in that place for one or two *garīs*,¹ exchanging tale and talk. His conversation was vapid and empty, presumably because he was a coward and false to his salt. Two things he said were extraordinary for the time when, under his eyes, his trusty and trusted retainers were becoming mine, and when his affairs had reached the point that he, the sovereign-aping mannikin, had had to come, willy-nilly, abased and unhonoured, to what sort of an interview! One of the things he said was this:—When condoled with for the desertion of his men, he replied, "Those very servants have four times left me and returned." The other was said when I had asked him where his brother Wali would cross the Amū and when he would arrive. "If he find a ford, he will soon be here, but when waters rise, fords change; the (Persian) proverb has it, 'The waters have carried down the fords.'" These words God brought to his tongue in that hour of the flowing away of his own authority and following!

Fol. 124.

¹ A *garī* is twenty-four minutes.

After sitting a *garī* or two, I mounted and rode back to camp, he for his part returning to his halting-place. On that day his begs, with their servants, great and small, good and bad, and tribe after tribe began to desert him and come, with their families, to me. Between the two Prayers of the next afternoon not a man remained in his presence.

"Say,—O God ! who possessest the kingdom ! Thou givest it to whom Thou wilt and Thou takest it from whom Thou wilt ! In Thy hand is good, for Thou art almighty." ¹

Fol. 124^b. Wonderful is His power ! This man, once master of 20 or 30,000 retainers, once owning Sl. Maḥmūd's dominions from Qaḥlūgha,—known also as the Iron-gate,—to the range of Hindū-kush, whose old mannikin of a tax-gatherer, Ḥasan *Barlās* by name, had made us march, had made us halt, with all the tax-gatherer's roughness, from Aīlāk to Aūbāj,² that man He so abased and so bereft of power that, with no blow struck, no sound made, he stood, without command over servants, goods, or life, in the presence of a band of 200 or 300 men, defeated and destitute as we were.

In the evening of the day on which we had seen Khusrau Shāh and gone back to camp, Mirzā Khān came to my presence and demanded vengeance on him for the blood of his brothers.³ Many of us were at one with him, for truly it is right, both by Law and common justice, that such men should get their deserts, but, as terms had been made, Khusrau Shāh was let go free. An order was given that he should be allowed to take whatever of his goods he could convey ; accordingly he loaded up, on three or four strings of mules and camels, all jewels, gold, silver, and precious things he had, and took them with him.⁴ Sherīm Ṭaghāī was told off to escort him, who after setting Khusrau Shāh on his road for Khurāsān, by way of Ghūrī and Dahānah, was to go to Kāhmard and bring the families after us to Kābul.

¹ Qorān, *Surat* iii, verse 25 ; Sale's Qorān, ed. 1825, i, 56.

² Cf. f. 82.

³ *viz.* Bāi-sanghar, bowstrung, and Mas'ūd, blinded.

⁴ Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ is florid over the rubies of Badakhshān he says Bābur took from Khusrau, but Haidar says Bābur not only had Khusrau's property, treasure, and horses returned to him, but refused all gifts Khusrau offered. "This is one trait out of a thousand in the Emperor's character." Haidar mentions, too, the then lack of necessities under which Bābur suffered (Sh. N., cap. lxiii, and T. R. p. 176).

(*h. Bābur marches for Kābul.*)

Marching from that camp for Kābul, we dismounted in Khwāja Zaid.

On that day, Ḥamza Bī *Mangfūt*,¹ at the head of Aūzbeg raiders, was over-running round about Dūshī. Sayyid Qāsim, the Lord of the Gate, and Aḥmad-i-qāsim *Kohbur* were sent with several braves against him; they got up with him, beat his Aūzbegs well, cut off and brought in a few heads. Fol. 125.

In this camp all the armour (*jība*) of Khusrāu Shāh's armoury was shared out. There may have been as many as 7 or 800 coats-of-mail (*joshan*) and horse accoutrements (*kūhah*);² these were the one thing he left behind; many pieces of porcelain also fell into our hands, but, these excepted, there was nothing worth looking at.

With four or five marches we reached Ghūr-bund, and there dismounted in Ushtur-shahr. We got news there that Muqīm's chief beg, Sherak (var. Sherka) *Arghūn*, was lying along the Bārān, having led an army out, not through hearing of me, but to hinder 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mīrzā from passing along the Panjhīr-road, he having fled from Kābul³ and being then amongst the Tarkalānī Afghāns towards Lamghān. On hearing this we marched forward, starting in the afternoon and pressing on through the dark till, with the dawn, we surmounted the Hūpīān-pass.⁴

I had never seen Suhail; ⁵ when I came out of the pass I saw a star, bright and low. "May not that be Suhail?" said I. Said they, "It is Suhail." Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* recited this couplet;—⁶

"How far dost thou shine, O Suhail, and where dost thou rise?"

A sign of good luck is thine eye to the man on whom it may light."

¹ Cf. T.R. p. 134 n. and 374 n.

² *Jība*, so often used to describe the quilted corselet, seems to have here a wider meaning, since the *jība-khāna* contained both *joshan* and *kūhah*, i.e. coats-of-mail and horse-mail with accoutrements. It can have been only from this source that Bābur's men obtained the horse-mail of f. 127.

³ He succeeded his father, Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī*, in 907 AH.; his youth led to the usurpation of his authority by Sherīm Zīkr, one of his begs; but the other begs put Sherīm to death. During the subsequent confusions Muḥ. Muqīm *Arghūn*, in 908 AH., got possession of Kābul and married a sister of 'Abdu'r-razzāq. Things were in this state when Bābur entered the country in 910 AH. (Erskine).

⁴ var. Ūpīān, a few miles north of Chārikār.

⁵ Suhail (Canopus) is a most conspicuous star in Afghānistān; it gives its name to the south, which is never called Janūb but Suhail; the rising of Suhail marks one of their seasons (Erskine). The honour attaching to this star is due to its seeming to rise out of Arabia Felix.

⁶ The lines are in the Preface to the *Anwār-i-suhailī* (Lights of Canopus).

Fol. 125b. The Sun was a spear's-length high ¹ when we reached the foot of the Sanjīd (Jujube)-valley and dismounted. Our scouting braves fell in with Sherak below the Qarā-bāgh,² near Aikari-yār, and straightway got to grips with him. After a little of some sort of fighting, our men took the upper hand, hurried their adversaries off, unhorsed 70-80 serviceable braves and brought them in. We gave Sherak his life and he took service with us.

(i. *Death of Walī of Khusrau.*)

The various clans and tribes whom Khusrau Shāh, without troubling himself about them, had left in Qūndūz, and also the Mughūl horde, were in five or six bodies (*būlak*). One of those belonging to Badakhshān,—it was the Rūstā-hazāra,—came, with Sayyidīm 'Alī *darbān*,³ across the Panjhīr-pass to this camp, did me obeisance and took service with me. Another body came under Ayūb's Yūsuf and Ayūb's Bihlūl; it also took service with me. Another came from Khutlān, under Khusrau Shāh's younger brother, Walī; another, consisting of the (Mughūl) tribesmen (*āimāq*) who had been located in Yīlānchaq, Nikdiri (?), and the Qūndūz country, came also. The last-named two came by Andar-āb and Sar-i-āb,⁴ meaning to cross by the Panjhīr-pass; at Sar-i-āb the tribesmen were ahead; Walī came up behind; they held the road, fought and beat him. He himself fled to the Aūzbegs,⁵ and Shaibāq Khān had his head struck off in the Square (*Chār-sū*) of Samarkand; his followers, beaten and plundered, came on with the tribesmen, and like these, took service with me. With them came Sayyid Yūsuf Beg (the Grey-wolfer).

Fol. 126.

(j. *Kābul gained.*)

From that camp we marched to the Āq-sarāī meadow of the Qarā-bāgh and there dismounted. Khusrau Shāh's people were

¹ "Die Kirghis-qazzāq drücken die Sonnen-höhe in Piken aus" (von Schwarz, p. 124).

² presumably, dark with shade, as in *qarā-yīghāch*, the hard-wood elm (f. 47b and note to *narwān*).

³ i.e. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī, the door-ward. These *būlaks* seem likely to have been groups of 1,000 fighting-men (Turki *Ming*).

⁴ In-the-water and Water-head.

⁵ Walī went from his defeat to Khwāst; wrote to Maḥmūd *Aūzbeq* in Qūndūz to ask protection; was fetched to Qūndūz by Muḥ Ṣālih, the author of the *Shahbānī-nāma*, and forwarded from Qūndūz to Samarkand (Sh. N. cap. lxiii). Cf. f. 29b.

well practised in oppression and violence ; they tyrannized over one after another till at last I had up one of Sayyidīm 'Alī's good braves to my Gate¹ and there beaten for forcibly taking a jar of oil. There and then he just died under the blows ; his example kept the rest down.

We took counsel in that camp whether or not to go at once against Kābul. Sayyid Yūsuf and some others thought that, as winter was near, our first move should be into Lamghān, from which place action could be taken as advantage offered. Bāqī Beg and some others saw it good to move on Kābul at once ; this plan was adopted ; we marched forward and dismounted in Ābā-qūrūq.

My mother and the belongings left behind in Kāhmard rejoined us at Ābā-qūrūq. They had been in great danger, the particulars of which are these :—Sherīm Ṭaghāī had gone to set Khusrau Shāh on his way for Khurāsān, and this done, was to fetch the families from Kāhmard. When he reached Dahānah, he found he was not his own master ; Khusrau Shāh went on with him into Kāhmard, where was his sister's son, Aḥmad-i-qāsim. These two took up an altogether wrong position towards the families in Kāhmard. Hereupon a number of Bāqī Beg's Mughūls, who were with the families, arranged secretly with Sherīm Ṭaghāī to lay hands on Khusrau Shāh and Aḥmad-i-qāsim. The two heard of it, fled along the Kāhmard-valley on the Ajar side² and made for Khurāsān. To bring this about was really what Sherīm Ṭaghāī and the Mughūls wanted. Set free from their fear of Khusrau Shāh by his flight, those in charge of the families got them out of Ajar, but when they reached Kāhmard, the Sāqānchī (var. Asīqānchī) tribe blocked the road, like an enemy, and plundered the families of most of Bāqī Beg's men.³ They made prisoner Qul-i-bāyazīd's little son, Tīzak ; he came into Kābul three or four years later. The plundered and unhappy families crossed by the Qībchāq-pass, as we had done, and they rejoined us in Ābā-qūrūq.

Fol. 126b.

¹ *i.e.* where justice was administered, at this time, outside Bābur's tent.

² They would pass Ajar and make for the main road over the Dandān-shikan Pass.

³ The clansmen may have obeyed Aḥmad's orders in thus holding up the families.

Fol. 127.

Leaving that camp we went, with one night's halt, to the Chālāk-meadow, and there dismounted. After counsel taken, it was decided to lay siege to Kābul, and we marched forward. With what men of the centre there were, I dismounted between Haidar *Tāqīs*¹ garden and the tomb of Qul-i-bāyazīd, the Taster (*bakāwal*);² Jahāngīr Mīrzā, with the men of the right, dismounted in my great Four-gardens (*Chār-bāgh*), Nāṣir Mīrzā, with the left, in the meadow of Qūtlūq-qadam's tomb. People of ours went repeatedly to confer with Muqīm; they sometimes brought excuses back, sometimes words making for agreement. His tactics were the sequel of his dispatch, directly after Sherak's defeat, of a courier to his father and elder brother (in Qandahār); he made delays because he was hoping in them.

Fol. 127b.

One day our centre, right, and left were ordered to put on their mail and their horses' mail, to go close to the town, and to display their equipment so as to strike terror on those within. Jahāngīr Mīrzā and the right went straight forward by the Kūcha-bāgh;³ I, with the centre, because there was water, went along the side of Qūtlūq-qadam's tomb to a mound facing the rising-ground;⁴ the van collected above Qūtlūq-qadam's bridge,—at that time, however, there was no bridge. When the braves, showing themselves off, galloped close up to the Curriers'-gate,⁵ a few who had come out through it fled in again without making any stand. A crowd of Kābulis who had come out to see the sight raised a great dust when they ran away from the high slope of the glacis of the citadel (*i.e.* Bālā-ḥiṣār). A number of pits had been dug up the rise between the bridge and the gate, and hidden under sticks and rubbish; Si. Qulī *Chūnāq* and several others were thrown as they galloped over them. A few braves of the right exchanged sword-cuts with those who came out of the town, in amongst

¹ The name may be from Turkī *tāq*, a horse-shoe, but I.O. 215 f. 102 writes Persian *naqīb*, the servant who announces arriving guests.

² Here, as immediately below, when mentioning the Chār-bāgh and the tomb of Qūtlūq-qadam, Bābur uses names acquired by the places at a subsequent date. In 910 A.H. the Taster was alive; the Chār-bāgh was bought by Bābur in 911 A.H., and Qūtlūq-qadam fought at Kānwāha in 933 A.H.

³ The Kūcha-bāgh is still a garden about 4 miles from Kābul on the north-west and divided from it by a low hill-pass. There is still a bridge on the way (Erskine).

⁴ Presumably that on which the Bālā-ḥiṣār stood, the glacis of a few lines further.

⁵ Cf. f. 130.

the lanes and gardens, but as there was no order to engage, having done so much, they retired.

Those in the fort becoming much perturbed, Muqīm made offer through the begs, to submit and surrender the town. Bāqī Beg his mediator, he came and waited on me, when all fear was chased from his mind by our entire kindness and favour. It was settled that next day he should march out with retainers and following, goods and effects, and should make the town over to us. Having in mind the good practice Khusrau Shāh's retainers had had in indiscipline and longhandedness, we appointed Jahāngīr Mirzā and Nāṣir Mirzā with the great and household begs, to escort Muqīm's family out of Kābul¹ and to bring out Muqīm himself with his various dependants, goods and effects. Camping-ground was assigned to him at Tīpa.² When the Mirzās and the Begs went at dawn to the Gate, they saw much mobbing and tumult of the common people, so they sent me a man to say, "Unless you come yourself, there will be no holding these people in." In the end I got to horse, had two or three persons shot, two or three cut in pieces, and so stamped the rising down. Muqīm and his belongings then got out, safe and sound, and they betook themselves to Tīpa. Fol. 128.

It was in the last ten days of the Second Rabī' (Oct. 1504 AD.)³ that without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kābul and Ghaznī and their dependent districts.

DESCRIPTION OF KĀBUL⁴

The Kābul country is situated in the Fourth climate and in the midst of cultivated lands.⁵ On the east it has the

¹ One of Muqīm's wives was a Timūrid, Bābur's first-cousin, the daughter of Aūlugh Beg *Kābulī*; another was Bibī Zarīf Khātūn, the mother of that Māh-chūchūq, whose anger at her marriage to Bābur's faithful Qāsim Kūkūldāsh has filled some pages of history (Gulbadan's H.N. s.n. Māh-chūchūq and Erskine's B. and Fl. i, 348).

² Some 9m. north of Kābul on the road to Āq-sarāi.

³ The Hai. MS. (only) writes First Rabī but the Second better suits the near approach of winter.

⁴ Elph. MS. fol. 97; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 102b and 217 f. 85; Mem. p. 136. Useful books of the early 19th century, many of them referring to the *Bābur-nāma*, are Conolly's *Travels*, Wood's *Journey*, Elphinstone's *Cabul*, Burnes' *Cabool*, Masson's *Narrative*, Lord's and Leech's articles in JASB 1838 and in Burnes' *Reports* (India Office Library), Broadfoot's *Report* in RGS Supp. Papers vol. I.

⁵ f. 1b where Farghāna is said to be on the limit of cultivation.

Lamghānāt,¹ Parashāwar (Pashāwar), Hash(t)-nagar and some of the countries of Hindūstān. On the west it has the mountain region in which are Karnūd(?) and Ghūr, now the refuge and dwelling-places of the Hazāra and Nikdīrī (var. Nikudārī) tribes. On the north, separated from it by the range of Hindū-kush, it has the Qūndūz and Andar-āb countries. On the south, it has Farmūl, Naghr (var. Naghz), Bannū and Afghānistān.²

(a. *Town and environs of Kābul.*)

The Kābul district itself is of small extent, has its greatest length from east to west, and is girt round by mountains. Its walled-town connects with one of these, rather a low one known as Shāh-of-Kābul because at some time a (Hindū) Shāh of Kābul built a residence on its summit.³ Shāh-of-Kābul begins at the Dūrrīn narrows and ends at those of Dih-i-yaq'ūb⁴; it may be 4 miles (2 *shar'ī*) round; its skirt is covered with gardens fertilized from a canal which was brought along the hill-slope in the time of my paternal uncle, Aulūgh Beg Mirzā by his guardian, Wais Atāka.⁵ The water of this canal comes to an end in a retired corner, a quarter known as Kul-kīna⁶

¹ f. 131b. To find these *tūmāns* here classed with what was not part of Kābul suggest a clerical omission of "beyond" or "east of" (Lamghānāt). It may be more correct to write Lāmghānāt, since the first syllable may be *lām*, fort. The modern form Laghmān is not used in the *Bābur-nāma*, nor, it may be added is Paghmān for Pamghān.

² It will be observed that Bābur limits the name Afghānistān to the countries inhabited by Afghān tribesmen; they are chiefly those south of the road from Kābul to Pashāwar (Erskine). See Vigne, p. 102, for a boundary between the Afghāns and Khurāsān.

³ Al-bīrūnī's *Indika* writes of both Turk and Hindū-shāhī Kings of Kābul. See Raverty's *Notes* p. 62 and Stein's *Shāhī Kings of Kābul*. The mountain is 7592 ft. above the sea, some 1800 ft. therefore above the town.

⁴ The Kābul-river enters the Chār-dih plain by the Dih-i-yaq'ūb narrows, and leaves it by those of Dūrrīn. Cf. *S.A. War*, Plan p. 288 and Plan of action at Chār-āsiyā (Four-mills), the second shewing an off-take which may be Wais Atāka's canal. See Vigne, p. 163 and Raverty's *Notes* pp. 69 and 689.

⁵ This, the Bālā-jūi (upper-canal) was a four-mill stream and in Masson's time, as now, supplied water to the gardens round Bābur's tomb. Masson found in Kābul honoured descendants of Wais Atāka (ii, 240).

⁶ But for a, perhaps negligible, shortening of its first vowel, this form of the name would describe the normal end of an irrigation canal, a little pool, but other forms with other meanings are open to choice, e.g. small hamlet (Pers. *kul*), or some compound containing Pers. *gul*, a rose, in its plain or metaphorical senses. Jarrett's *Ayīn-i-akbarī* writes Gul-kīnah, little rose (?). Masson (ii, 236) mentions a similar pleasure-resort, Sanjī-tāq.

where much debauchery has gone on. About this place it sometimes used to be said, in jesting parody of Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ¹, —“Ah! the happy, thoughtless time when, with our names in ill-repute, we lived days of days at Kul-kīna!”

East of Shāh-of-Kabūl and south of the walled-town lies a large pool² about a 2 miles [*shar'ī*] round. From the town side of the mountain three smallish springs issue, two near Kul-kīna; Khwāja Shamū's³ tomb is at the head of one; Khwāja Khizr's Qadam-gāh⁴ at the head of another, and the third is at a place known as Khwāja Raushānāi, over against Khwāja 'Abdu's-ṣamad. On a detached rock of a spur of Shāh-of-Kābul, known as 'Uqābain,⁵ stands the citadel of Kābul with the great walled-town at its north end, lying high in excellent air, and overlooking the large pool already mentioned, and also three meadows, namely, Siyāh-sang (Black-rock), Sūng-qūrghān (Fort-back), and Chālāk (Highwayman?),—a most beautiful outlook when the meadows are green. The north-wind does not fail Kābul in the heats; people call it the Parwān-wind⁶; it makes a delightful temperature in the windowed houses on the northern part of the citadel. In praise of the citadel of Kābul, Mullā Muḥammad *Ṭālib Mu'ammāi* (the Riddler)⁷

¹ The original ode, with which the parody agrees in rhyme and refrain, is in the *Diwān*, s.l. *Dāl* (Brockhaus ed. 1854, i, 62 and lith. ed. p. 96). See Wilberforce Clarke's literal translation i, 286 (H.B.). A marginal note to the Haidarābād Codex gives what appears to be a variant of one of the rhymes of the parody.

² *aulūgh kūl*; some 3 m. round in Erskine's time; mapped as a swamp in *S.A. War* p. 288.

³ A marginal note to the Hai. Codex explains this name to be an abbreviation of Khwāja Shamsū'd-dīn *ḡān-bāz* (or *ḡān-bāz*; Masson, ii, 279 and iii, 93).

⁴ i.e. the place made holy by an impress of saintly foot-steps.

⁵ Two eagles or, Two poles, used for punishment. Vigne's illustration (p. 161) clearly shows the spur and the detached rock. Erskine (p. 137 n.) says that 'Uqābain seems to be the hill, known in his day as 'Ashiqān-i-'arīfān, which connects with Bābur Bādshāh. See Raverty's *Notes* p. 68.

⁶ During most of the year this wind rushes through the Hindū-kush (Parwān)-pass; it checks the migration of the birds (f. 142), and it may be the cause of the deposit of the Running-sands (Burnes, p. 158). Cf. Wood, p. 124.

⁷ He was Badi'uz-zamān's *Sadr* before serving Bābur; he died in 918 AH. (1512 AD.), in the battle of Kūl-i-malik where 'Ubaidu'l-lāh *Aḡzibeg* defeated Bābur. He may be identical with Mir Husain the Riddler of f. 181, but seems not to be Mullā Muh. *Badakshshī*, also a Riddler, because the *Ḥabībū's-siyār* (ii, 343 and 344) gives this man a separate notice. Those interested in enigmas can find one made by Ṭālib on the name Yahya (H.S. ii, 344). Sharafu'd-dīn 'Alī *Yasdi*, the author of the *Zafar-nāma*, wrote a book about a novel kind of these puzzles (T.R. p. 84).

Fol. 129. used to recite this couplet, composed on Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā's name :—

Drink wine in the castle of Kābul and send the cup round without pause ;
For Kābul is mountain, is river, is city, is lowland in one.²

(b. *Kābul as a trading-town.*)

Just as 'Arabs call every place outside 'Arab (Arabia), 'Ajam, so Hindūstānīs call every place outside Hindūstān, Khurāsān. There are two trade-marts on the land-route between Hindūstān and Khurāsān ; one is Kābul, the other, Qandahār. To Kābul caravans come from Kāshghar,² Farghāna, Turkistān, Samarkand, Bukhārā, Balkh, Hīṣār and Badakhshān. To Qandahār they come from Khurāsān. Kābul is an excellent trading-centre ; if merchants went to Khīta or to Rūm,³ they might make no higher profit. Down to Kābul every year come 7, 8, or 10,000 horses and up to it, from Hindūstān, come every year caravans of 10, 15 or 20,000 heads-of-houses, bringing slaves (*barda*), white cloth, sugar-candy, refined and common sugars, and aromatic roots. Many a trader is not content with a profit of 30 or 40 on 10.⁴ In Kābul can be had the products of Khurāsān, Rūm, 'Irāq and Chīn (China) ; while it is Hindūstān's own market.

(c. *Products and climate of Kābul.*)

In the country of Kābul, there are hot and cold districts close to one another. In one day, a man may go out of the town of Kābul to where snow never falls, or he may go, in two sidereal hours, to where it never thaws, unless when the heats are such that it cannot possibly lie.

Fol. 129b.

Fruits of hot and cold climates are to be had in the districts near the town. Amongst those of the cold climate, there are had in the town the grape, pomegranate, apricot, apple, quince,

² The original couplet is as follows :—

*Bakhūr dar arg-i Kābul mai, bagardān kāsa pāy dar pāy,
Kāh ham koh ast, u ham daryā, u ham shahr ast, u ham ṣaḥrā.*

What Ṭālib's words may be inferred to conceal is the opinion that like Badī'ū'z-zamān and like the meaning of his name, Kābul is the Wonder-of-the-world. (Cf. M. Garçin de Tassy's *Rhétorique* [p. 165], for *ces combinaisons énigmatiques.*)

² All MSS. do not mention Kāshghar.

³ Khīta (Cathay) is Northern China ; Chīn (*infra*) is China ; Rūm is Turkey and particularly the provinces near Trebizond (Erschine).

⁴ 300% to 400% (Erschine).

pear, peach, plum, *sinjid*, almond and walnut.¹ I had cuttings of the *ālū-bālū*² brought there and planted; they grew and have done well. Of fruits of the hot climate people bring into the town;—from the Lamghānāt, the orange, citron, *amlūk* (*diospyrus lotus*), and sugar-cane; this last I had had brought and planted there;³—from Nijr-au (Nijr-water), they bring the *jīl-ghūza*,⁴ and, from the hill-tracts, much honey. Bee-hives are in use; it is only from towards Ghaznī, that no honey comes.

The rhubarb⁵ of the Kābul district is good, its quinces and plums very good, so too its *badrang*;⁶ it grows an excellent grape, known as the water-grape.⁷ Kābul wines are heady, those of the Khwāja Khāwand Sa'īd hill-skirt being famous for their strength; at this time however I can only repeat the praise of others about them:—⁸

The flavour of the wine a drinker knows;
What chance have sober men to know it?

Kābul is not fertile in grain, a four or five-fold return is reckoned good there; nor are its melons first-rate, but they are not altogether bad when grown from Khurāsān seed.

It has a very pleasant climate; if the world has another so pleasant, it is not known. Even in the heats, one cannot sleep

¹ Persian *sinjid*, Brandis, *elaagnus hortensis*; Erskine (Mems. p. 138) jujube, presumably the *zizyphus jujuba* of Speede, Supplement p. 86. Turki *yāngāq*, walnut, has several variants, of which the most marked is *yāngkhāq*. For a good account of Kābul fruits see Masson, ii, 230.

² a kind of plum (?). It seems unlikely to be a cherry since Bābur does not mention cherries as good in his old dominions, and Firminger (p. 244) makes against it as introduced from India. Steingass explains *ālū-bālū* by "sour-cherry, an armarella"; if sour, is it the Morello cherry?

³ The sugar-cane was seen in abundance in Lan-po (Lamghān) by a Chinese pilgrim (Beale, p. 90); Bābur's introduction of it may have been into his own garden only in Ningnāhār (f. 132b).

⁴ i.e. the seeds of *pinus Gerardiana*.

⁵ *rawāshlār*. The green leaf-stalks (*chūkrī*) of *ribes rheum* are taken into Kābul in mid-April from the Pamghān-hills; a week later they are followed by the blanched and tended *rawāsh* (Masson, ii, 7). See Gul-badan's H.N. trs. p. 188, Vigne, p. 100 and 107, Masson, ii, 230, Conolly, i, 213.

⁶ a large green fruit, shaped something like a citron; also a large sort of cucumber (Erskine).

⁷ The *sāhibī*, a grape praised by Bābur amongst Samarkandī fruits, grows in Koh-dāman; another well-known grape of Kābul is the long stoneless *husainī*, brought by Afghan traders into Hindūstān in round, flat boxes of poplar wood (Vigne, p. 172).

⁸ An allusion, presumably, to the renouncement of wine made by Bābur and some of his followers in 933 AH. (1527 AD. f. 312). He may have had 'Umar Khayyām's quatrain in mind, "Wine's power is known to wine-bibbers alone" (Whinfield's 2nd ed. 1901, No. 164).

Fol. 130.

at night without a fur-coat.¹ Although the snow in most places lies deep in winter, the cold is not excessive; whereas in Samarkand and Tabrīz, both, like Kābul, noted for their pleasant climate, the cold is extreme.

(d. *Meadows of Kābul.*)

There are good meadows on the four sides of Kābul. An excellent one, Sūng-qūrghān, is some 4 miles (2 *kuroh*) to the north-east; it has grass fit for horses and few mosquitos. To the north-west is the Chālāk meadow, some 2 miles (1 *shar'i*) away, a large one but in it mosquitos greatly trouble the horses. On the west is the Dūrrīn, in fact there are two, Tīpa and Qūsh-nādir (var. nāwar),—if two are counted here, there would be five in all. Each of these is about 2 miles from the town; both are small, have grass good for horses, and no mosquitos; Kābul has no others so good. On the east is the Siyāh-sang meadow with Qūtlūq-qadam's tomb² between it and the Currier's-gate; it is not worth much because, in the heats, it swarms with mosquitos. Kamarī³ meadow adjoins it; counting this in, the meadows of Kābul would be six, but they are always spoken of as four.

(e. *Mountain-passes into Kābul.*)

The country of Kābul is a fastness hard for a foreign foe to make his way into.

The Hindū-kush mountains, which separate Kābul from Balkh, Qūndūz and Badakhshān, are crossed by seven roads.⁴ Three

¹ *pūstīn*, usually of sheep-skin. For the wide range of temperature at Kābul in 24 hours, see Ency. Brit. art. Afghānistān. The winters also vary much in severity (Burnes, p. 273).

² Index s.n. As he fought at Kānwāha, he will have been buried after March 1527 AD.; this entry therefore will have been made later. The Curriers'-gate is the later Lahor-gate (Masson, ii, 259).

³ Index s.n.

⁴ For lists of the Hindū-kush passes see Leech's Report VII; Yule's *Introductory Essay* to Wood's *Journey* 2nd ed.; PRGS 1879, Markham's art. p. 121.

The highest *cols* on the passes here enumerated by Bābur are,—Khawāk 11,640 ft.—Tūl, height not known,—Pārāndī 15,984 ft.—Bāj-gāh (Toll-place) 12,000 ft.—Waltān (Saints) 15,100 ft.—Chahār-dār (Four-doors) 18,900 ft. and Shibr-tū 9800 ft. In considering the labour of their ascent and descent, the general high level, north and south of them, should be borne in mind; e.g. Chārikār (Chār-yak-kār) stands 5200 ft. and Kābul itself at 5780 ft. above the sea.

of these lead out of Panjhīr (Panj-sheer), *viz.* Khawāk, the uppermost, Tūl, the next lower, and Bāzarak.¹ Of the passes on them, the one on the Tūl road is the best, but the road itself is rather the longest whence, seemingly, it is called Tūl. Bāzarak is the most direct; like Tūl, it leads over into Sar-i-āb; as it passes through Pārāndī, local people call its main pass, the Pārāndī. Another road leads up through Parwān; it has seven minor passes, known as Haft-bacha (Seven-younglings), between Parwān and its main pass (Bāj-gāh). It is joined at its main pass by two roads from Andar-āb, which go on to Parwān by it. This is a road full of difficulties. Out of Ghūr-bund, again, three roads lead over. The one next to Parwān, known as the Yāngī-yūl pass (New-road), goes through Wālīān to Khinjan; next above this is the Qīpchāq road, crossing to where the water of Andar-āb meets the Sūrkh-āb (Qizil-sū); this also is an excellent road; and the third leads over the Shibr-tū pass;² those crossing by this in the heats take their way by Bāmīān and Saighān, but those crossing by it in winter, go on by Āb-dara (Water-valley).³ Shibr-tū excepted, all the Hindū-kush roads are closed for three or four months in winter,⁴ because no road through a valley-bottom is passable when the waters are high. If any-one thinks to cross the Hindū-kush at that time, over the mountains instead of through a valley-bottom, his journey is hard indeed. The time to cross is during the three or four autumn months when the snow is less and the waters are low. Whether on the mountains or in the valley-bottoms, Kāfir highwaymen are not few. Fol. 130^b.

The road from Kābul into Khurāsān passes through Qandahār; it is quite level, without a pass. Fol. 131.

¹ *i.e.* the hollow, long, and small-bāzār roads respectively. Panjhīr is explained by Hindūs to be Panj-sheer, the five lion-sons of Pandu (Masson, iii, 168).

² Shibr is a Hazāra district between the head of the Ghūr-bund valley and Bāmīān. It does not seem to be correct to omit the *tū* from the name of the pass. Persian *tū*, turn, twist (syn. *pīch*) occurs in other names of local passes; to read it here as a *turn* agrees with what is said of Shibr-tū pass as not crossing but turning the Hindū-kush (Cunningham). Lord uses the same wording about the Hāji-ghāt (var. -kāk etc.) traverse of the same spur, which "turns the extremity of the Hindū-kush". See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, i, 25; Lord's *Ghūr-bund* (JASB 1838 p. 528), Masson, iii, 169 and Leech's *Report* VII.

³ Perhaps through Jālmīsh into Saighān.

⁴ *i.e.* they are closed.

Four roads leads into Kābul from the Hindūstān side; one by rather a low pass through the Khaibar mountains, another by way of Bangash, another by way of Naghr (var. Naghz),¹ and another through Farmūl;² the passes being low also in the three last-named. These roads are all reached from three ferries over the Sind. Those who take the Nīl-āb³ ferry, come on through the Lamghānāt.⁴ In winter, however, people ford the Sind-water (at Hāru) above its junction with the Kābul-water,⁵ and ford this also. In most of my expeditions into Hindūstān, I crossed those fords, but this last time (932 AH.—1525 AD.), when I came, defeated Sl. Ibrāhīm and conquered the country, I crossed by boat at Nīl-āb. Except at the one place mentioned above, the Sind-water can be crossed only by boat. Those again, who cross at Dīn-kot⁶ go on through Bangash. Those crossing at Chaupāra, if they take the Farmūl-road, go on to Ghaznī, or, if they go by the Dasht, go on to Qandahār.⁷

¹ It was unknown in Mr. Erskine's day (Mems. p. 140). Several of the routes in Raverty's *Notes* (p. 92 etc.) allow it to be located as on the Irī-āb, near to or identical with Bāghzān, 35 *kurohs* (70 m.) s.s.e. of Kābul.

² Farmūl, about the situation of which Mr. Erskine was in doubt, is now marked in maps, Ūrghūn being its principal village.

³ 15 miles below Atak (Erskine). Mr. Erskine notes that he found no warrant, previous to Abū'l-fazl's, for calling the Indus the Nīl-āb, and that to find one would solve an ancient geographical difficulty. This difficulty, my husband suggests, was Alexander's supposition that the Indus was the Nile. In books grouping round the *Bābur-nāma*, the name Nīl-āb is not applied to the Indus, but to the ferry-station on that river, said to owe its name to a spring of azure water on its eastern side. (Cf. Afzal Khān *Khattak*, R.'s *Notes* p. 447.)

I find the name Nīl-āb applied to the Kābul-river:—1. to its Arghandī affluent (Cunningham, p. 17, Map); 2. through its boatman class, the Nīl-ābis of Lālpūra, Jalālābād and Kūnār (G. of I. 1907, art. Kābul); 3. inferentially to it as a tributary of the Indus (D'Herbélot); 4. to it near its confluence with the grey, silt-laden Indus, as blue by contrast (Sayyid Ghulām-i-muḥammad, R.'s *Notes* p. 34). (For Nīl-āb (Naulibis?) in Ghūr-bund see Cunningham, p. 32 and Masson, iii, 169.)

⁴ By one of two routes perhaps,—either by the Khaibar-Nīngnāhār-Jagdālik road, or along the north bank of the Kābul-river, through Goshta to the crossing where, in 1879, the 10th Hussars met with disaster. See *S.A. War*, Map 2 and p. 63; Leech's *Reports* II and IV (Fords of the Indus); and R.'s *Notes* p. 44.

⁵ Hāru, Leech's Harroon, apparently, 10 m. above Atak. The text might be read to mean that both rivers were forded near their confluence, but, finding no warrant for supposing the Kābul-river fordable below Jalālābād, I have guided the translation accordingly; this may be wrong and may conceal a change in the river.

⁶ known also as Dhān-kot and as Mu'azzam-nagar (*Ma'āshirū'l-'umrā* i, 249 and A.N. trs. H.B. index s.n. Dhān-kot). It was on the east bank of the Indus, probably near modern Kālā-bāgh, and was washed away not before 956 AH. (1549 AD. H. Beveridge).

⁷ Chaupāra seems, from f. 1486, to be the Chapari of Survey Map 1889. Bābur's *Dasht* is modern Dāman.

(f. Inhabitants of Kābul.)

There are many differing tribes in the Kābul country; in its dales and plains are Turks and clansmen¹ and 'Arabs; in its town and in many villages, Sārts; out in the districts and also in villages are the Pashāi, Parāji, Tājik, Birkī and Afghān tribes. In the western mountains are the Hazāra and Nikdīrī tribes, some of whom speak the Mughūlī tongue. In the north-eastern mountains are the places of the Kāfirs, such as Kitūr (Gawār?) and Gibrik. To the south are the places of the Afghān tribes. Fol. 131b.

Eleven or twelve tongues are spoken in Kābul,—'Arabī, Persian, Turkī, Mughūlī, Hindī, Afghānī, Pashāi, Parāji, Gibrī, Birkī and Lamghānī. If there be another country with so many differing tribes and such a diversity of tongues, it is not known.

(e. Sub-divisions of the Kābul country.)

The [Kābul] country has fourteen *tūmāns*.²

Bajaur, Sawād and Hash-nagar may at one time have been dependencies of Kābul, but they now have no resemblance to cultivated countries (*wilāyāt*), some lying desolate because of the Afghāns, others being now subject to them.

In the east of the country of Kābul is the Lamghānāt, 5 *tūmāns* and 2 *bulūks* of cultivated lands.³ The largest of these is Ningnahār, sometimes written Nagarahār in the histories.⁴ Its *dāroghā's* residence is in Adīnapūr,⁵ some 13 *yūghāch* east of Kābul by a very bad and tiresome road, going in three or four places over small hill-passes, and in three or four others, through Fol. 132.

¹ *aimāq*, used usually of Mughūls, I think. It may be noted that Lieutenant Leech compiled a vocabulary of the tongue of the Mughūl Aimāq in Qandahār and Harāt (JASB 1838, p. 785).

² The *Āyīn-i-akbarī* account of Kābul both uses and supplements the *Bābur-nāma*.

³ *via*. 'Alī-shang, Alangār and Mandrāwar (the Lamghānāt proper), Ningnahār (with its *bulūk*, Kāma), Kūnār-with-Nūr-gal, (and the two *bulūks* of Nūr-valley and Chaghān-sarāi).

⁴ See Appendix E, *On Nagarahāra*.

⁵ The name Adīnapūr is held to be descended from ancient Udyānapūra (Garden-town); its ancestral form however was applied to Nagarahāra, apparently, in the Bārān-Sūrkh-rūd *dā-ab*, and not to Bābur's *dāroghā's* seat. The Sūrkh-rūd's deltaic mouth was a land of gardens; when Masson visited Adīnapūr he went from Bālā-bāgh (High-garden); this appears to stand where Bābur locates his Bāgh-i-wafā, but he was shown a garden he took to be this one of Bābur's, a mile higher up the Sūrkh-rūd. A later ruler made the Chār-bāgh of maps. It may be mentioned that Bālā-bāgh has become in some maps Rozābād (Garden-town). See Masson, i, 182 and iii, 186; R.'s *Notes*; and Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, Masson's art.

narrows.¹ So long as there was no cultivation along it, the Khirilchī and other Afghān thieves used to make it their beat, but it has become safe² since I had it peopled at Qarā-tū,³ below Qūrūq-sāi. The hot and cold climates are separated on this road by the pass of Bādām-chashma (Almond-spring); on its Kābul side snow falls, none at Qūrūq-sāi, towards the Lamghānāt.⁴ After descending this pass, another world comes into view, other trees, other plants (or grasses), other animals, and other manners and customs of men. Nīngnahār is nine torrents (*tūqūs-rūd*).⁵ It grows good crops of rice and corn, excellent and abundant oranges, citrons and pomegranates. In 914 AH. (1508–9 AD.) I laid out the Four-gardens, known as the Bāgh-i-wafā (Garden-of-fidelity), on a rising-ground, facing south and having the Sūrkh-rūd between it and Fort Adīnapūr.⁶ There oranges, citrons and pomegranates grow in abundance. The year I defeated Pahār Khān and took Lāhor and Dipālpūr,⁷ I had plantains (bananas) brought and planted there; they did very well. The year before I had had sugar-cane planted there; it also did well; some of it was sent to Bukhārā and Badakhshān.⁸ The garden lies high, has running-water close at hand, and a mild winter climate. In the middle of it, a one-mill stream flows constantly past the little hill on which are the four garden-plots. In the south-west part of it there is a reservoir, 10 by 10,⁹ round which

Fol. 132b.

¹ One of these *tangzī* is now a literary asset in Mr. Kipling's *My Lord the Elephant*. Bābur's 13 y. represent some 82 miles; on f. 137b the Kābul-Ghaznī road of 14 y. represents some 85; in each case the *yīghāch* works out at over six miles (Index s.n. *yīghāch* and Vigne, p. 454). Sayyid Ghulām-i-muḥammad traces this route minutely (R.'s *Notes* pp. 57, 59).

² Masson was shewn "Chaghatai castles", attributed to Bābur (iii, 174).

³ Dark-turn, perhaps, as in Shibr-tū, Jāl-tū, etc. (f. 130b and note to Shibr-tū).

⁴ f. 145 where the change is described in identical words, as seen south of the Jagdālik-pass. The Bādām-chashma pass appears to be a traverse of the eastern rampart of the Tizin-valley.

⁵ Appendix E, *On Nāgarahāra*.

⁶ No record exists of the actual laying-out of the garden; the work may have been put in hand during the Mahmand expedition of 914 AH. (f. 216); the name given to it suggests a gathering there of loyalists when the stress was over of the bad Mughl rebellion of that year (f. 216b where the narrative breaks off abruptly in 914 AH. and is followed by a gap down to 925 AH.–1519 AD.).

⁷ No annals of 930 AH. are known to exist; from Šafar 926 AH. to 932 AH. (Jan. 1520–Nov. 1525 AD.) there is a lacuna. Accounts of the expedition are given by Khāfi Khān, i, 47 and Firishṭa, lith. ed. p. 202.

⁸ Presumably to his son, Humāyūn, then governor in Badakhshān; Bukhārā also was under Bābur's rule.

⁹ here, *qārī*, yards. The dimensions 10 by 10, are those enjoined for places of ablution.

are orange-trees and a few pomegranates, the whole encircled by a trefoil-meadow. This is the best part of the garden, a most beautiful sight when the oranges take colour. Truly that garden is admirably situated !

The Safed-koh runs along the south of Nīngnahār, dividing it from Bangash ; no riding-road crosses it ; nine torrents (*tūqūz-rūd*) issue from it.¹ It is called Safed-koh² because its snow never lessens ; none falls in the lower parts of its valleys, a half-day's journey from the snow-line. Many places along it have an excellent climate ; its waters are cold and need no ice.

The Sūrkh-rūd flows along the south of Adīnapūr. The fort stands on a height having a straight fall to the river of some 130 ft. (40–50 *qārī*) and isolated from the mountain behind it on the north ; it is very strongly placed. That mountain runs between Nīngnahār and Lamghān³ ; on its head snow falls when it snows Fol. 133. in Kābul, so Lamghānīs know when it has snowed in the town.

In going from Kābul into the Lamghānāt,⁴—if people come by Qūrūq-sāī, one road goes on through the Dīrī-pass, crosses the Bārān-water at Būlān, and so on into the Lamghānāt,—another goes through Qarā-tū, below Qūrūq-sāī, crosses the Bārān-water at Aūlūgh-nūr (Great-rock?), and goes into Lamghān by the pass of Bād-i-pīch.⁵ If however people come by Nījr-aū, they traverse Badr-aū (Tag-aū), and Qarā-nakariq (?), and go on through the pass of Bād-i-pīch.

¹ Presumably those of the *tūqūz-rūd*, *supra*. Cf. Appendix E, *On Nagarahāra*.

² White-mountain ; Pushtū, Spīn-ghur (or ghar).

³ *i.e.* the Lamghānāt proper. The range is variously named ; in (Persian) Siyāh-koh (Black-mountain), which like Turkī Qarā-tāgh may mean non-snowy ; by Tājīks, Bāgh-i-ātāka (Foster-father's garden) ; by Afghāns, Kanda-ghur, and by Lamghānīs Koh-i-būlān,—Kanda and Būlān both being ferry-stations below it (Masson, iii, 189 ; also the Times Nov. 20th 1912 for a cognate illustration of diverse naming).

⁴ A comment made here by Mr. Erskine on changes of name is still appropriate, but some seeming changes may well be due to varied selection of land-marks. Of the three routes next described in the text, one crosses as for Mandrāwar ; the second, as for 'Alī-shang, a little below the outfall of the Tizīn-water ; the third may take off from the route, between Kābul and Tag-aū, marked in Col. Tanner's map (PRGS 1881 p. 180). Cf. R's Route 11 ; and for Aūlūgh-nūr, Appendix F, *On the name Nūr*.

⁵ The name of this pass has several variants. Its second component, whatever its form, is usually taken to mean *pass*, but to read it here as *pass* would be redundant, since Bābur writes "pass (*kūtal*) of Bād-i-pīch". Pīch occurs as a place name both east (Pich) and west (Pichghān) of the *kūtal*, but what would suit the bitter and even fatal winds of the pass would be to read the name as Whirling-wind (*bād-i-pīch*). Another explanation suggests itself from finding a considerable number of pass-names such as Shībr-tū, Jāl-tū, Qarā-tū, in which *tū* is a synonym of *pīch*, turn, twist ; thus Bād-i-pīch may be the local form of Bād-tū, Windy-turn.

Although Nīngnahār is one of the five *tūmāns* of the Lamghān *tūmān* the name Lamghānāt applies strictly only to the three (mentioned below).

One of the three is the 'Alī-shang *tūmān*, to the north of which are fastness-mountains, connecting with Hindū-kush and inhabited by Kāfirs only. What of Kāfiristān lies nearest to 'Alī-shang, is Mīl out of which its torrent issues. The tomb of Lord Lām,¹ father of his Reverence the prophet Nuḥ (Noah), is in this *tūmān*. In some histories he is called Lamak and Lamakān. Some people are observed often to change *kāf* for *ghain* (*k* for *gh*); it would seem to be on this account that the country is called Lamghān.

The second is Alangār. The part of Kāfiristān nearest to it is Gawār (Kawār), out of which its torrent issues (the Gau or Kau). This torrent joins that of 'Alī-shang and flows with it into the Bārān-water, below Mandrāwar, which is the third *tūmān* of the Lamghānāt.

Of the two *bulūks* of Lamghān one is the Nūr-valley.² This is a place (*yār*) without a second³; its fort is on a beak (*tūmshūq*) of rock in the mouth of the valley, and has a torrent on each side; its rice is grown on steep terraces, and it can be traversed by one road only.⁴ It has the orange, citron and other fruits of hot climates in abundance, a few dates even. Trees cover the banks of both the torrents below the fort; many are *amlūk*, the fruit of which some Turks call *qarā-yīmāsh*;⁵ here they are many, but none have been seen elsewhere. The valley grows grapes also, all trained on trees.⁶ Its wines are those of Lamghān that have reputation. Two sorts of grapes are grown,

¹ See Masson, iii, 197 and 289. Both in Pashāi and Lamghāni, *lām* means fort.

² See Appendix F, *On the name Dara-i-nūr*.

³ *ghair mukarrar*. Bābur may allude to the remarkable change men have wrought in the valley-bottom (Appendix F, for Col. Tanner's account of the valley).

⁴ f. 154.

⁵ *diospyrus lotus*, the European date-plum, supposed to be one of the fruits eaten by the Lotophagi. It is purple, has bloom and is of the size of a pigeon's egg or a cherry. See Watts' *Economic Products of India*; Brandis' *Forest Trees*, Illustrations; and Speede's *Indian Hand-book*.

⁶ As in Lombardy, perhaps; in Luhūgur vines are clipped into standards; in most other places in Afghānistān they are planted in deep trenches and allowed to run over the intervening ridges or over wooden framework. In the narrow Khūlm-valley they are trained up poplars so as to secure them the maximum of sun. See Wood's *Report VI* p. 27; Bellew's *Afghānistān* p. 175 and *Mems.* p. 142 note.

the *arah-tāshī* and the *sūhān-tāshī*;¹ the first are yellowish, the second, full-red of fine colour. The first make the more cheering wine, but it must be said that neither wine equals its reputation for cheer. High up in one of its glens, apes (*maimūn*) are found, none below. Those people (*i.e.* Nūris) used to keep swine but they have given it up in our time.²

Another *tūmān* of Lamghān is Kūnār-with-Nūr-gal. It lies somewhat out-of-the-way, remote from the Lamghānāt, with its borders in amongst the Kāfir lands; on these accounts its people give in tribute rather little of what they have. The Chaghān-sarāī water enters it from the north-east, passes on into the *bulūk* of Kāma, there joins the Bārān-water and with that flows east. Fol. 134.

Mīr Sayyid 'Alī *Hamadānī*,³—God's mercy on him!—coming here as he journeyed, died 2 miles (1 *shar'ī*) above Kūnār. His disciples carried his body to Khutlān. A shrine was erected at the honoured place of his death, of which I made the circuit when I came and took Chaghān-sarāī in 920 AH.⁴

The orange, citron and coriander⁵ abound in this *tūmān*. Strong wines are brought down into it from Kāfiristān.

A strange thing is told there, one seeming impossible, but one told to us again and again. All through the hill-country above Multa-kundī, *viz.* in Kūnār, Nūr-gal, Bajaur, Sawād and

(*Author's note to Multa-kundī.*) As Multa-kundī is known the lower part of the *tūmān* of Kūnār-with-Nūr-gal; what is below (*i.e.* on the river) belongs to the valley of Nūr and to Atar.⁶

¹ Appendix G, *On the names of two Nūri wines.*

² This practice Bābur viewed with disgust, the hog being an impure animal according to Muhammadan Law (Erskine).

³ The *Khasīnatu'l-asfiyā* (ii, 293) explains how it came about that this saint, one honoured in Kashmīr, was buried in Khutlān. He died in Hazāra (Paklī) and there the Paklī Sultān wished to have him buried, but his disciples, for some unspecified reason, wished to bury him in Khutlān. In order to decide the matter they invited the Sultān to remove the bier with the corpse upon it. It could not be stirred from its place. When, however a single one of the disciples tried to move it, he alone was able to lift it, and to bear it away on his head. Hence the burial in Khutlān. The death occurred in 786 AH. (1384 AD.). A point of interest in this legend is that, like the one to follow, concerning dead women, it shews belief in the living activities of the dead.

⁴ The MSS. vary between 920 and 925 AH.—neither date seems correct. As the annals of 925 AH. begin in Muḥarram, with Bābur to the east of Bajaur, we surmise that the Chaghān-sarāī affair may have occurred on his way thither, and at the end of 924 AH.

⁵ *karanj*, *coriandrum sativum*.

⁶ some 20–24 m. north of Jalālābād. The name Multa-kundī may refer to the Rām-kundī range, or mean Lower district, or mean Below Kundī. See Biddulph's *Khowāri Dialect s.n.* under; R.'s *Notes* p. 108 and *Dict. s.n. kund*; Masson, i, 209.

Fol. 134b.

thereabouts, it is commonly said that when a woman dies and has been laid on a bier, she, if she has not been an ill-doer, gives the bearers such a shake when they lift the bier by its four sides, that against their will and hindrance, her corpse falls to the ground ; but, if she has done ill, no movement occurs. This was heard not only from Kūnārīs but, again and again, in Bajaur, Sawād and the whole hill-tract. Haidar-‘alī *Bajaurī*,—a sultān who governed Bajaur well,—when his mother died, did not weep, or betake himself to lamentation, or put on black, but said, “Go! lay her on the bier! if she move not, I will have her burned.”¹ They laid her on the bier ; the desired movement followed ; when he heard that this was so, he put on black and betook himself to lamentation.

Another *bulūk* is Chaghān-sarāi,² a single village with little land, in the mouth of Kāfiristān ; its people, though Muṣalmān, mix with the Kāfirs and, consequently, follow their customs.³ A great torrent (the Kūnār) comes down to it from the north-east from behind Bajaur, and a smaller one, called Pīch, comes down out of Kāfiristān. Strong yellowish wines are had there, not in any way resembling those of the Nūr-valley, however. The village has no grapes or vineyards of its own ; its wines are all brought from up the Kāfiristān-water and from Pīch-i-kāfiristānī.

The Pīch Kāfirs came to help the villagers when I took the place. Wine is so commonly used there that every Kāfir has his leathern wine-bag (*khīg*) at his neck, and drinks wine instead of water.⁴

¹ *i.e.* treat her corpse as that of an infidel (Erskine).

² It would suit the position of this village if its name were found to link to the Turki verb *chagmāq*, to go out, because it lies in the mouth of a defile (Dahānah-i-koh, Mountain-mouth) through which the road for Kāfiristān goes out past the village. A not-infrequent explanation of the name to mean White-house, Āq-sarāi, may well be questioned. *Chaghān*, white, is Mughūli and it would be less probable for a Mughūli than for a Turki name to establish itself. Another explanation may lie in the tribe name Chugānī. The two forms *chaghān* and *chaghār* may well be due to the common local interchange in speech of *n* with *r*. (For Dahānah-i-koh see [some] maps and Raverty’s Bājaur routes.)

³ Nimchas, presumably,—half-bred in custom, perhaps in blood—; and not improbably, converted Kāfirs. It is useful to remember that Kāfiristān was once bounded, west and south, by the Bārān-water.

⁴ Kāfir wine is mostly poor, thin and, even so, usually diluted with water. When kept two or three years, however, it becomes clear and sometimes strong. Sir G. S. Robertson never saw a Kāfir drunk (*Kāfirs of the Hindū-kush*, p. 591).

Kāma, again, though not a separate district but dependent on Ningnahār, is also called a *bulūk*.¹

Nijr-aū² is another *tūmān*. It lies north of Kābul, in the Kohistān, with mountains behind it inhabited solely by Kāfirs; it is a quite sequestered place. It grows grapes and fruits in abundance. Its people make much wine but, they boil it. They fatten many fowls in winter, are wine-bibbers, do not pray, have no scruples and are Kāfir-like.³

In the Nijr-aū mountains is an abundance of *archa*, *jūlgūza*, *bīlūt* and *khanjak*.⁴ The first-named three do not grow above Nijr-aū but they grow lower, and are amongst the trees of Hindūstān. *Jūlgūza*-wood is all the lamp the people have; it burns like a candle and is very remarkable. The flying-squirrel⁵ is found in these mountains, an animal larger than a bat and having a curtain (*parda*), like a bat's wing, between its arms and legs. People often brought one in; it is said to fly, downward from one tree to another, as far as a *gis* flies;⁶ I myself have never seen one fly. Once we put one to a tree; it clambered up directly and got away, but, when people went after it, it spread its wings and came down, without hurt, as if it had flown. Another of the curiosities of the Nijr-aū mountains is the *lūkha* (var. *lūja*) bird, called also *bū-qalamūn* (chameleon) because, between head and tail, it has four or five changing colours, resplendent like a pigeon's throat.⁷ It is about as large as the

¹ Kāma might have classed better under Ningnahār of which it was a dependency.

² *i.e.* water-of-Nijr; so too, Badr-aū and Tag-aū. Nijr-aū has seven-valleys (JASB 1838 p. 329 and Burnes' Report X). Sayyid Ghulām-i-muhammad mentions that Bābur established a frontier-post between Nijr-aū and Kāfiristān which in his own day was still maintained. He was an envoy of Warren Hastings to Timūr Shāh Sadozi (R.'s Notes p. 36 and p. 142).

³ *Kāfirwash*; they were Kāfirs converted to Muḥammadanism.

⁴ *Archa*, if not inclusive, meaning conifer, may represent *juniperus excelsa*, this being the common local conifer. The other trees of the list are *pinus Gerardiana* (Brandis, p. 690), *quercus bīlūt*, the holm-oak, and *pistacia mutica* or *khanjak*, a tree yielding mastic.

⁵ *rūba-i-parwān*, *pteromys inornatus*, the large, red flying-squirrel (Blandford's Fauna of British India, Mammalia, p. 363).

⁶ The *gis* is a short-flight arrow used for shooting small birds etc. Descending flights of squirrels have been ascertained as 60 yards, one, a record, of 80 (Blandford).

⁷ Apparently *tetragallus himalayensis*, the Himalayan snow-cock (Blandford, iv, 143). Burnes (*Cabool* p. 163) describes the *kabg-i-darī* as the *rara avis* of the Kābul Kohistān, somewhat less than a turkey, and of the *chikor* (partridge) species. It was procured for him first in Ghūr-bund, but, when snow has fallen, it could be had nearer Kābul. Bābur's *bū-qalamūn* may have come into his vocabulary, either as a survival direct from Greek occupation of Kābul and Panj-āb, or through Arabic writings. PRGS 1879 p. 251, Kaye's art. and JASB 1838 p. 863, Hodgson's art.

kabg-i-darī and seems to be the *kabg-i-darī* of Hindūstān.¹ People tell this wonderful thing about it :—When the birds, at the on-set of winter, descend to the hill-skirts, if they come over a vineyard, they can fly no further and are taken.² There is a kind of rat in Nijr-aū, known as the musk-rat, which smells of musk ; I however have never seen it.³

Panjhīr (Panj-sher) is another *tūmān* ; it lies close to Kāfiristān, along the Panjhīr road, and is the thoroughfare of Kāfir highway-men who also, being so near, take tax of it. They have gone through it, killing a mass of persons, and doing very evil deeds, since I came this last time and conquered Hindūstān (932 AH.-1526 AD.).⁴

Another is the *tūmān* of Ghūr-bund. In those countries they call a *kūtal* (*koh*?) a *bund* ;⁵ they go towards Ghūr by this pass (*kūtal*) ; apparently it is for this reason that they have called (the *tūmān*?) Ghūr-bund. The Hazāra hold the heads of its valleys.⁶ It has few villages and little revenue can be raised from it. There are said to be mines of silver and lapis lazuli in its mountains.

Again, there are the villages on the skirts of the (Hindū-kush) mountains,⁷ with Mīta-kacha and Parwān at their head, and

¹ Bartavelle's *Greek-partridge*, *tetrao*- or *perdrix-rufus* [f. 279 and Mems. p. 320 n.].

² A similar story is told of some fields near Whitby :—"These wild geese, which in winter fly in great flocks to the lakes and rivers unfrozen in the southern parts, to the great amazement of every-one, fall suddenly down upon the ground when they are in flight over certain neighbouring fields thereabouts ; a relation I should not have made, if I had not received it from several credible men." See *Notes to Marnion* p. xlvii (Erskine) ; Scott's *Poems*, Black's ed. 1880, vii, 104.

³ Are we to infer from this that the musk-rat (*Crocidura carulea*, Lydekker, p. 626) was not so common in Hindūstān in the age of Bābur as it has now become ? He was not a careless observer (Erskine).

⁴ Index s.n. *Bābur-nāma*, date of composition ; also f. 131.

⁵ In the absence of examples of *bund* to mean *kūtal*, and the presence "in those countries" of many in which *bund* means *koh*, it looks as though a clerical error had here written *kūtal* for *koh*. But on the other hand, the wording of the next passage shows just the confusion an author's unrevised draft might shew if a place were, as this is, both a *tūmān* and a *kūtal* (i.e. a steady rise to a traverse). My impression is that the name Ghūr-bund applies to the embanking spur at the head of the valley-*tūmān*, across which roads lead to Ghūrī and Ghūr (PRGS 1879, Maps ; Leech's Report VII ; and Wood's VI).

⁶ So too when, because of them, Leech and Lord turned back, *re infecta*.

⁷ It will be noticed that these villages are not classed in any *tūmān* ; they include places "rich without parallel" in agricultural products, and level lands on which towns have risen and fallen, one being Alexandria ad Caucasum. They cannot have been part of the unremunerative Ghūr-bund *tūmān* ; from their place of mention in Bābur's list of *tūmāns*, they may have been part of the Kābul *tūmān* (f. 178), as was Koh-dāman (Burnes' *Cabool* p. 154 ; Haughton's *Charikar* p. 73 ; and Cunningham's *Ancient History*, i, 18).

Dūr-nāma¹ at their foot, 12 or 13 in all. They are fruit-bearing villages, and they grow cheering wines, those of Khwāja Khāwand Sa'īd being reputed the strongest roundabouts. The villages all lie on the foot-hills; some pay taxes but not all are taxable because they lie so far back in the mountains.

Between the foot-hills and the Bārān-water are two detached stretches of level land, one known as *Kurra-tāziyān*,² the other as *Dasht-i-shaikh* (Shaikh's-plain). As the green grass of the millet³ grows well there, they are the resort of Turks and (Mughūl) clans (*aimāq*). Fol. 136.

Tulips of many colours cover these foot-hills; I once counted them up; it came out at 32 or 33 different sorts. We named one the Rose-scented, because its perfume was a little like that of the red rose; it grows by itself on Shaikh's-plain, here and nowhere else. The Hundred-leaved tulip is another; this grows, also by itself, at the outlet of the Ghūr-bund narrows, on the hill-skirt below Parwān. A low hill known as Khwāja-i-regrawān (Khwāja-of-the-running-sand), divides the afore-named two pieces of level land; it has, from top to foot, a strip of sand from which people say the sound of nagarets and tambours issues in the heats.⁴

Again, there are the villages depending on Kābul itself. South-west from the town are great snow mountains⁵ where snow falls on snow, and where few may be the years when, falling, it does not light on last year's snow. It is fetched, 12 miles may-be, from these mountains, to cool the drinking water when ice-houses in Kābul are empty. Like the Bāmiān mountains,

¹ Dūr-namāi, seen from afar (Masson, iii, 152) is not marked on the Survey Maps; Masson, Vigne and Haughton locate it. Bābur's "head" and "foot" here indicate status and not location.

² Mems. p. 146 and *Méms.* i, 297, Arabs' encampment and *Cellule des Arabes*. Perhaps the name may refer to uses of the level land and good pasture by horse *qāfilas*, since *Kurra* is written with *tashdīd* in the Haidarābād Codex, as in *kurra-tās*, a horse-breaker. Or the *tāziyān* may be the fruit of a legend, commonly told, that the saint of the neighbouring Running-sands was an Arabian.

³ Presumably this is the grass of the millet, the growth before the ear, on which grazing is allowed (Elphinstone, i, 400; Burnes, p. 237).

⁴ Wood, p. 115; Masson, iii, 167; Burnes, p. 157 and JASB 1838 p. 324 with illustration; Vigne, pp. 219, 223; Lord, JASB 1838 p. 537; *Cathay and the way thither*, Hakluyt Society vol. I. p. xx, para. 49; *History of Musical Sands*, C. Carus-Wilson.

⁵ *West* might be more exact, since some of the group are a little north, others a little south of the latitude of Kābul.

these are fastnesses. Out of them issue the Harmand (Halmand), Sind, Dūghāba of Qūndūz, and Balkh-āb,¹ so that in a single day, a man might drink of the water of each of these four rivers.

It is on the skirt of one of these ranges (Pamghān) that most of the villages dependent on Kābul lie.² Masses of grapes ripen in their vineyards and they grow every sort of fruit in abundance. No-one of them equals Istālīf or Astarghach; these must be the two which Aulūgh Beg Mīrzā used to call his Khurāsān and Samarkand. Pamghān is another of the best, not ranking in fruit and grapes with those two others, but beyond comparison with them in climate. The Pamghān mountains are a snowy range. Few villages match Istālīf, with vineyards and fine orchards on both sides of its great torrent, with waters needing no ice, cold and, mostly, pure. Of its Great garden Aulūgh Beg Mīrzā had taken forcible possession; I took it over, after paying its price to the owners. There is a pleasant halting-place outside it, under great planes, green, shady and beautiful. A one-mill stream, having trees on both banks, flows constantly through the middle of the garden; formerly its course was zig-zag and irregular; I had it made straight and orderly; so the place became very beautiful. Between the village and the valley-bottom, from 4 to 6 miles down the slope, is a spring, known as Khwāja Sih-yārān (Three-friends), round which three sorts of tree grow. A group of planes gives pleasant shade above it; holm-oak (*quercus bīlūt*) grows in masses on the slope at its sides,—these two oaklands (*bīlūtistān*) excepted, no holm-oak grows in the mountains of western Kābul,—and the Judas-tree (*arghwān*)³ is much cultivated in front of it, that is towards the level ground,—cultivated there and nowhere else. People say the three different sorts of tree were a gift made by three saints,⁴ whence

Fol. 136b.

Fol. 137.

¹ Affluents and not true sources in some cases (Col. Holdich's *Gates of India*, s.n. Koh-i-bābā; and PRGS 1879, maps pp. 80 and 160).

² The Pamghān range. These are the villages every traveller celebrates. Masson's and Vigne's illustrations depict them well.

³ *Cercis siliquastrum*, the Judas-tree. Even in 1842 it was sparingly found near Kābul, adorning a few tombs, one Bābur's own. It had been brought from Sih-yārān where, as also at Chārikār, (Chār-yak-kār) it was still abundant and still a gorgeous sight. It is there a tree, as at Kew, and not a bush, as in most English gardens (Masson, ii, 9; Elphinstone, i, 194; and for the tree near Harāt, f. 191 n. to Šafar).

⁴ Khwāja Maudūd of Chisht, Khwāja Khāwand Sa'id and the Khwāja of the Running-sands (Elph. MS. f. 104b, marginal note).

its name. I ordered that the spring should be enclosed in mortared stone-work, 10 by 10, and that a symmetrical, right-angled platform should be built on each of its sides, so as to overlook the whole field of Judas-trees. If, the world over, there is a place to match this when the *arghwāns* are in full bloom, I do not know it. The yellow *arghwān* grows plentifully there also, the red and the yellow flowering at the same time.¹

In order to bring water to a large round seat which I had built on the hillside and planted round with willows, I had a channel dug across the slope from a half-mill stream, constantly flowing in a valley to the south-west of Sih-yārān. The date of cutting this channel was found in *jūz-khūsh* (kindly channel).²

Another of the *tūmāns* of Kābul is Luhūgur (mod. Logar). Its one large village is Chīrkh from which were his Reverence Maulānā Ya'qūb and Mullā-zāda 'Uṣmān.³ Khwāja Aḥmad and Khwāja Yūnas were from Sajāwand, another of its villages. Chīrkh has many gardens, but there are none in any other village of Luhūgur. Its people are Aūghān-shāl, a term common in Kābul, seeming to be a mispronouncement of Aūghān-sha'ār.⁴ Fol. 137b.

Again, there is the *wilāyat*, or, as some say, *tūmān* of Ghaznī, said to have been⁵ the capital of Sabuk-tigīn, Sl. Maḥmūd and their descendants. Many write it Ghaznīn. It is said also to have been the seat of government of Shihābū'd-dīn Ghūrī,⁶ styled Mu'izzū'd-dīn in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāṣirī* and also some of the histories of Hind.

Ghaznī is known also as Zābulistān; it belongs to the Third climate. Some hold that Qandahār is a part of it. It lies 14 *yīghāch* (south-) west of Kābul; those leaving it at dawn, may reach Kābul between the Two Prayers (*i.e.* in the afternoon);

¹ The yellow-flowered plant is not *cercis siliquastrum* but one called *mahaka* (?) in Persian, a shrubby plant with pea-like blossoms, common in the plains of Persia, Bīlūchistān and Kābul (Masson, iii, 9 and Vigne, p. 216).

² The numerical value of these words gives 925 (Erskine). F. 246b *et seq.* for the expedition.

³ f. 178. I.O. MS. No. 724, *Haft-iqlīm* f. 135 (Ethé, p. 402); Rieu, pp. 21a, 1058b.

⁴ of Afghān habit. The same term is applied (f. 139b) to the Zurmutīs; it may be explained in both places by Bābur's statement that Zurmutīs grow corn, but do not cultivate gardens or orchards.

⁵ *aiḥān dūr*. Sabuk-tigīn, d. 387 AH.-997 AD., was the father of Sl. Maḥmūd Ghaznavī, d. 421 AH.-1030 AD.

⁶ d. 602 AH.-1206 AD.

whereas the 13 *yīghāch* between Adīnapūr and Kābul can never be done in one day, because of the difficulties of the road.

Fol. 138. Ghaznī has little cultivated land. Its torrent, a four-mill or five-mill stream may-be, makes the town habitable and fertilizes four or five villages; three or four others are cultivated from under-ground water-courses (*kārez*). Ghaznī grapes are better than those of Kābul; its melons are more abundant; its apples are very good, and are carried to Hindūstān. Agriculture is very laborious in Ghaznī because, whatever the quality of the soil, it must be newly top-dressed every year; it gives a better return, however, than Kābul. Ghaznī grows madder; the entire crop goes to Hindūstān and yields excellent profit to the growers. In the open-country of Ghaznī dwell Hazāra and Afghāns. Compared with Kābul, it is always a cheap place. Its people hold to the Ḥanafī faith, are good, orthodox Muṣalmāns, many keep a three months' fast,¹ and their wives and children live modestly secluded.

One of the eminent men of Ghaznī was Mullā 'Abdu'r-raḥmān, a learned man and always a learner (*dars*), a most orthodox, pious and virtuous person; he left this world the same year as Nāṣir Mīrzā (921 AH.-1515 AD.). Sl. Maḥmūd's tomb is in the suburb called Rauza,² from which the best grapes come; there also are the tombs of his descendants, Sl. Mas'ūd and Sl. Ibrāhīm. Ghaznī has many blessed tombs. The year³ I took Kābul and Ghaznī, over-ran Kohāt, the plain of Bannū and lands of the Afghāns, and went on to Ghaznī by way of Dūkī (Dūgī) and Āb-istāda, people told me there was a tomb, in a village of Ghaznī, which moved when a benediction on the Prophet was pronounced over it. We went to see it. In the end I discovered that the movement was a trick, presumably of the servants at the tomb, who had put a sort of platform above it which moved when pushed, so that, to those on it, the tomb seemed to move, just as the shore does to those passing in a boat. I ordered the

Fol. 138b.

¹ Some Musalmāns fast through the months of Rajab, Sha'bān and Ramzān; Muḥammadans fast only by day; the night is often given to feasting (Erskine).

² The Garden; the tombs of more eminent Muṣalmāns are generally in gardens (Erskine). See Vigne's illustrations, pp. 133, 266.

³ *i.e.* the year now in writing. The account of the expedition, Bābur's first into Hindūstān, begins on f. 145.

scaffold destroyed and a dome built over the tomb ; also I forbid the servants, with threats, ever to bring about the movement again.

Ghaznī is a very humble place ; strange indeed it is that rulers in whose hands were Hindūstān and Khurāsānāt,¹ should have chosen it for their capital. In the Sulṭān's (Maḥmūd's) time there may have been three or four dams in the country ; one he made, some three *yīghāch* (18 m. ?) up the Ghaznī-water to the north ; it was about 40–50 *qārī* (yards) high and some 300 long ; through it the stored waters were let out as required.² It was destroyed by 'Alāu'u'd-dīn *Jahān-soz Ghūrī* when he conquered the country (550 AH.-1152 AD.), burned and ruined the tombs of several descendants of Sl. Maḥmūd, sacked and burned the town, in short, left undone no tittle of murder and rapine. Since that time, the Sulṭān's dam has lain in ruins, but, through God's favour, there is hope that it may become of use again, by means of the money which was sent, in Khwāja Kalān's hand, in the year Hindūstān was conquered (932 AH.-1526 AD.).³ The Sakhandam is another, 2 or 3 *yīghāch* (12–18 m.), may-be, on the east of the town ; it has long been in ruins, indeed is past repair. There is a dam in working order at Sar-i-dih (Village-head). Fol. 139.

In books it is written that there is in Ghaznī a spring such that, if dirt and foul matter be thrown into it, a tempest gets up instantly, with a blizzard of rain and wind. It has been seen said also in one of the histories that Sabuk-tīgīn, when besieged by the Rāī (Jāī-pāl) of Hind, ordered dirt and foulness to be thrown into the spring, by this aroused, in an instant, a tempest with blizzard of rain and snow, and, by this device, drove off his foe.⁴ Though we made many enquiries, no intimation of the spring's existence was given us.

In these countries Ghaznī and Khwārizm are noted for cold, in the same way that Sulṭānīā and Tabrīz are in the two 'Irāqs and Azarbāijān.

¹ i.e. the countries groupable as Khurāsān.

² For picture and account of the dam, see Vigne, pp. 138, 202.

³ f. 295b.

⁴ The legend is told in numerous books with varying location of the spring. One narrator, Zakariyā *Qaswīnī*, reverses the parts, making Jāī-pāl employ the ruse ; hence Leyden's note (Mems. p. 150 ; E. and D.'s *History of India* ii, 20, 182 and iv, 162 ; for historical information, R.'s *Notes* p. 320). The date of the events is shortly after 378 AH.-988 AD.

Fol. 139b. Zurmut is another *tūmān*, some 12–13 *yīghāch* south of Kābul and 7–8 south-east of Ghaznī.¹ Its *dārogha's* head-quarters are in Gīrdīz; there most houses are three or four storeys high. It does not want for strength, and gave Nāsir Mirzā trouble when it went into hostility to him. Its people are Aūghān-shāl; they grow corn but have neither vineyards nor orchards. The tomb of Shaikh Muḥammad *Muṣalmān* is at a spring, high on the skirt of a mountain, known as Barakistān, in the south of the *tūmān*.

Farmūl is another *tūmān*,² a humble place, growing not bad apples which are carried into Hindūstān. Of Farmūl were the Shaikh-zādas, descendants of Shaikh Muḥammad *Muṣalmān*, who were so much in favour during the Afghān period in Hindūstān.

Bangash is another *tūmān*.³ All round about it are Afghān highwaymen, such as the Khūgtānī, Khirilchī, Tūrī and Landar. Lying out-of-the-way, as it does, its people do not pay taxes willingly. There has been no time to bring it to obedience; greater tasks have fallen to me,—the conquests of Qandahār, Balkh, Badakhshān and Hindūstān! But, God willing! when I get the chance, I most assuredly will take order with those Bangash thieves.

One of the *bulūks* of Kābul is Ālā-sāi,⁴ 4 to 6 miles (2–3 *shar'ī*) east of Nijr-aū. The direct road into it from Nijr-aū leads, at a place called Kūra, through the quite small pass which in that locality separates the hot and cold climates. Through this pass the birds migrate at the change of the seasons, and at those times many are taken by the people of Pīchghān, one of the dependencies of Nijr-aū, in the following manner:—
Fol. 140. From distance to distance near the mouth of the pass, they make hiding-places for the bird-catchers. They fasten one corner of a net five or six yards away, and weight the lower side to the

¹ R.'s *Notes s.n.* Zurmut.

² The question of the origin of the Farmūl has been written of by several writers; perhaps they were Turks of Persia, Turks and Tājiks.

³ This completes the list of the 14 *tūmāns* of Kābul, viz. Ningnahār, 'Alī-shang, Alangār, Mandrāwar, Kūnār-with-Nūr-gal, Nijr-aū, Panjhīr, Ghūr-bund, Koh-dāman (with Kohistān?), Luhūgur (of the Kābul *tūmān*), Ghaznī, Zurmut, Farmūl and Bangash.

⁴ Between Nijr-aū and Tag-aū (Masson, iii, 165). Mr. Erskine notes that Bābur reckoned it in the hot climate but that the change of climate takes place further east, between 'Alī-shang and Aūzbīn (i.e. the valley next eastwards from Tag-aū).

ground with stones. Along the other side of the net, for half its width, they fasten a stick some 3 to 4 yards long. The hidden bird-catcher holds this stick and by it, when the birds approach, lifts up the net to its full height. The birds then go into the net of themselves. Sometimes so many are taken by this contrivance that there is not time to cut their throats.¹

Though the Ālā-sāi pomegranates are not first-rate, they have local reputation because none are better thereabouts; they are carried into Hindūstān. Grapes also do not grow badly, and the wines of Ālā-sāi are better and stronger than those of Nijr-aū.

Badr-aū (Tag-aū) is another *bulūk*; it runs with Ālā-sāi, grows no fruit, and for cultivators has corn-growing Kāfirs.²

(f. *Tribesmen of Kābul.*)

Just as Turks and (Mughūl) clans (*aimāq*) dwell in the open country of Khurāsān and Samarkand, so in Kābul do the Hazāra and Afghāns. Of the Hazāra, the most widely-scattered are the Sultān-mas'ūdi Hazāra, of Afghāns, the Mahmand.

(g. *Revenue of Kābul.*)

The revenues of Kābul, whether from the cultivated lands or from tolls (*tamghā*) or from dwellers in the open country, amount to 8 *laks* of *shāhrukhīs*.³

Fol. 140b.

(h. *The mountain-tracts of Kābul.*)

Where the mountains of Andar-āb, Khwāst,⁴ and the Badakhshānāt have conifers (*archa*), many springs and gentle slopes, those of eastern Kābul have grass (*aut*), grass like a beautiful floor, on hill, slope and dale. For the most part it is *būta-kāh* grass (*aut*), very suitable for horses. In the Andijān country they talk of *būta-kāh*, but why they do so was not known (to me?); in Kābul it was heard-say to be because the grass comes

¹ *būghūs-lārighā furṣat būlmās*; i.e. to kill them in the lawful manner, while pronouncing the *Bismillāh*.

² This completes the *bulūks* of Kābul viz. Badr-aū (Tag-aū), Nūr-valley, Chaghān-sarāi, Kāma and Ālā-sāi.

³ The *ruṭi* being equal to 2½ *shāhrukhīs*, the *shāhrukhī* may be taken at 10d. thus making the total revenue only £33,333 6s. 8d. See *Ayīn-i-akbarī* ii, 169 (Erskine).

⁴ *sic* in all B.N. MSS. Most maps print Khost. Muḥ. Šāliḥ says of Khwāst, "Who sees it, would call it a Hell" (Vambéry, p. 361).

up in tufts (*būta*, *būta*).¹ The alps of these mountains are like those of Hīṣār, Khutlān, Farghāna, Samarkand and Mughūlistān,—all these being alike in mountain and alp, though the alps of Farghāna and Mughūlistān are beyond comparison with the rest.

Fol. 141. From all these the mountains of Nijr-aū, the Lamghānāt and Sawād differ in having masses of cypresses,² holm-oak, olive and mastic (*khanjak*); their grass also is different,—it is dense, it is tall, it is good neither for horse nor sheep. Although these mountains are not so high as those already described, indeed they look to be low, none-the-less, they are strongholds; what to the eye is even slope, really is hard rock on which it is impossible to ride. Many of the beasts and birds of Hindūstān are found amongst them, such as the parrot, *mīna*, peacock and *lūja* (*lūkha*), the ape, *nīl-gāu* and hog-deer (*kūta-pāī*);³ some found there are not found even in Hindūstān.

The mountains to the west of Kābul are also all of one sort, those of the Zindān-valley, the Šūf-valley, Garzawān and Gharjistān (Gharchastān).⁴ Their meadows are mostly in the dales; they have not the same sweep of grass on slope and top as some of those described have; nor have they masses of trees; they have, however, grass suiting horses. On their flat tops, where all the crops are grown, there is ground where a horse can gallop. They have masses of *kīyik*.⁵ Their valley-bottoms are strongholds, mostly precipitous and inaccessible from above. It is remarkable that, whereas other mountains have their fastnesses in their high places, these have theirs below.

Of one sort again are the mountains of Ghūr, Karnūd (var. Kuzūd) and Hazāra; their meadows are in their dales; their trees are few, not even the *archa* being there;⁶ their grass is fit

¹ Bābur's statement about this fodder is not easy to translate; he must have seen grass grow in tufts, and must have known the Persian word *būta* (bush). Perhaps *kāh* should be read to mean plant, not grass. Would Wood's *bootr* fit in, a small furze bush, very plentiful near Bāmīān? (Wood's Report VI, p. 23; and for regional grasses, Aitchison's *Botany of the Afghan Delimitation Commission*, p. 122.)

² *nāzū*, perhaps *cupressus torulosa* (Brandis, p. 693).

³ f. 276.

⁴ A laborious geographical note of Mr. Erskine's is here regretfully left behind, as now needless (Mems. p. 152).

⁵ Here, mainly wild-sheep and wild-goats, including *mār-khūār*.

⁶ Perhaps, no conifers; perhaps none of those of the contrasted hill-tract.

for horses and for the masses of sheep they keep. They differ from those last described in this, their strong places are not below.

The mountains (south-east of Kābul) of Khwāja Ismā'il, Dasht, Dūgī (Dūkī)¹ and Afghānistān are all alike; all low, scant of vegetation, short of water, treeless, ugly and good-for-nothing. Their people take after them, just as has been said, *Tīng būlmā-ghūncha tūsh būlmās*.² Likely enough the world has few mountains so useless and disgusting. Fol. 141b.

(h. *Fire-wood of Kābul*.)

The snow-fall being so heavy in Kābul, it is fortunate that excellent fire-wood is had near by. Given one day to fetch it, wood can be had of the *khanjak* (mastic), *bīlūt* (holm-oak), *bādāmcha* (small-almond) and *qarqand*.³ Of these *khanjak* wood is the best; it burns with flame and nice smell, makes plenty of hot ashes and does well even if sappy. Holm-oak is also first-rate fire-wood, blazing less than mastic but, like it, making a hot fire with plenty of hot ashes, and nice smell. It has the peculiarity in burning that when its leafy branches are set alight, they fire up with amazing sound, blazing and crackling from bottom to top. It is good fun to burn it. The wood of the small-almond is the most plentiful and commonly-used, but it does not make a lasting fire. The *qarqand* is quite a low shrub, thorny, and burning sappy or dry; it is the fuel of the Ghazni people.

(i. *Fauna of Kābul*.)

The cultivated lands of Kābul lie between mountains which are like great dams⁴ to the flat valley-bottoms in which most villages and peopled places are. On these mountains *kīyik* and

¹ While here *dasht* (plain) represents the eastern skirt of the Mehtar Sulaimān range, *dūkī* or *dūgī* (desert) seems to stand for the hill tracts on the west of it, and not, as on f. 152, for the place there specified.

² Mems. p. 152, "A narrow place is large to the narrow-minded"; Mems. i, 311, "Ce qui n'est pas trop large, ne reste pas vide." Literally, "So long as heights are not equal, there is no vis-à-vis," or, if *tāng* be read for *tīng*, "No dawn, no noon," i.e. no effect without a cause.

³ I have not lighted on this name in botanical books or explained by dictionaries. Perhaps it is a Cis-oxanian name for the *sax-aol* of Transoxania. As its uses are enumerated by some travellers, it might be *Haloxylon ammodendron*, *ta-ghaz* etc. and *sax-aol* (Aitchison, p. 102).

⁴ f. 135b note to Ghūr-bund.

*āhū*¹ are scarce. Across them, between its summer and winter quarters, the dun sheep,² the *argārghalcha*, have their regular track,³ to which braves go out with dogs and birds⁴ to take them. Fol. 142. Towards Khūrd-kābul and the Sūrkh-rūd there is wild-ass, but there are no white *kīyik* at all; Ghaznī has both and in few other places are white *kīyik* found in such good condition.⁵

In the heats the fowling-grounds of Kābul are crowded. The birds take their way along the Bārān-water. For why? It is because the river has mountains along it, east and west, and a great Hindū-kush pass in a line with it, by which the birds must cross since there is no other near.⁶ They cannot cross when the north wind blows, or if there is even a little cloud on Hindū-kush; at such times they alight on the level lands of the Bārān-water and are taken in great numbers by the local people. Towards the end of winter, dense flocks of mallards (*aurdūq*) reach the banks of the Bārān in very good condition. Follow these the cranes and herons,⁷ great birds, in large flocks and countless numbers.

(j. Bird-catching.)

Along the Bārān people take masses of cranes (*tūrna*) with the cord; masses of *auqār*, *garqara* and *qūtān* also.⁸ This

¹ I understand that wild-goats, wild-sheep and deer (*āhū*) were not localized, but that the dun-sheep migrated through. Antelope (*āhū*) was scarce in Elphinstone's time.

² *qisil kīyik* which, taken with its alternative name, *argārghalcha*, allows it to be the dun-sheep of Wood's *Journey* p. 241. From its second name it may be *Ovis amnon* (*Raas*), or *O. argali*.

³ *tusqāwal*, var. *tuiqāwal*, *tusqāwal* and *tūshqāwal*, a word which has given trouble to scribes and translators. As a sporting-term it is equivalent to *shikār-i-nihilam*; in one or other of its forms I find it explained as *Weg-hüter*, *Fahnen-hüter*, *Zahl-meister*, *Schlucht*, *Gefährlicher-weg* and *Schmaler-weg*. It recurs in the B.N. on f. 197b l. 5 and l. 6 and there might mean either a narrow road or a *Weg-hüter*. If its Turki root be *tūsh*, the act of stopping, all the above meanings can follow, but there may be two separate roots, the second, *tūsh*, the act of descent (J.R.A.S. 1900 p. 137, H. Beveridge's art. *On the word nihilam*).

⁴ *qūshlik*, *aslik*. Elphinstone writes (l. 191) of the excellent greyhounds and hawking birds of the region; here the bird may be the *charakh*, which works with the dogs, fastening on the head of the game (Von Schwarz, p. 117, for the same use of eagles).

⁵ An antelope resembling the usual one of Hindūstān is common south of Ghaznī (Vigne, p. 110); what is not found may be some classes of wild-sheep, frequent further north, at higher elevation, and in places more familiar to Bābur.

⁶ The Parwān or Hindū-kush pass, concerning the winds of which see f. 128.

⁷ *tūrnā u garqara*; the second of which is the Hindi *būglā*, heron, *egret ardea gazetta*, the furnisher of the aigrette of commerce.

⁸ The *auqār* is *ardea cinerea*, the grey heron; the *garqara* is *ardea gazetta*, the egret. *Qūtān* is explained in the Elph. Codex (f. 110) by *kharwāsīl*, goldfinch, but the context concerns large birds; Scully (Shaw's Voc.) has *qodam*, water-hen, which suits better.

method of bird-catching is unique. They twist a cord as long as the arrow's ¹ flight, tie the arrow at one end and a *bildūrğa* ² at the other, and wind it up, from the arrow-end, on a piece of wood, span-long and wrist-thick, right up to the *bildūrğa*. They then pull out the piece of wood, leaving just the hole it was in. The *bildūrğa* being held fast in the hand, the arrow is shot off ³ towards the coming flock. If the cord twist round a neck or wing, it brings the bird down. On the Bārān everyone takes birds in this way ; it is difficult ; it must be done on rainy nights, because on such nights the birds do not alight, but fly continually and fly low till dawn, in fear of ravening beasts of prey. Through the night the flowing river is their road, its moving water showing through the dark ; then it is, while they come and go, up and down the river, that the cord is shot. One night I shot it ; it broke in drawing in ; both bird and cord were brought in to me next day. By this device Bārān people catch the many herons from which they take the turban-aigrettes sent from Kābul for sale in Khurāsān. Fol. 142b.

Of bird-catchers there is also the band of slave-fowlers, two or three hundred households, whom some descendant of Timūr Beg made migrate from near Multān to the Bārān.⁴ Bird-catching is their trade ; they dig tanks, set decoy-birds ⁵ on them, put a net over the middle, and in this way take all sorts of birds. Not fowlers only catch birds, but every dweller on the Bārān does it, whether by shooting the cord, setting the springe, or in various other ways. Fol. 143.

(k. *Fishing*.)

The fish of the Bārān migrate at the same seasons as birds. At those times many are netted, and many are taken on wattles

¹ *gis*, the short-flight arrow.

² a small, round-headed nail with which a whip-handle is decorated (Vambéry). Such a stud would keep the cord from slipping through the fingers and would not check the arrow-release.

³ It has been understood (Mems. p. 153 and *Méms.* i, 313) that the arrow was flung by hand but if this were so, something heavier than the *gis* would carry the cord better, since it certainly would be difficult to direct a missile so light as an arrow without the added energy of the bow. The arrow itself will often have found its billet in the closely-flying flock ; the cord would retrieve the bird. The verb used in the text is *ātmāq*, the one common to express the discharge of arrows etc.

⁴ For Timūrids who may have immigrated the fowlers see Raverty's *Notes* p. 579 and his Appendix p. 22.

⁵ *milwāh* ; this has been read by all earlier translators, and also by the Persian annotator of the Elph. Codex, to mean *shākh*, bough. For decoy-ducks see Bellew's *Notes on Afghānistān* p. 404.

(*chāgh*) fixed in the water. In autumn when the plant known as *wild-ass-tail*¹ has come to maturity, flowered and seeded, people take 10–20 loads (of seed?) and 20–30 of green branches (*grūk-shībāk*) to some head of water, break it up small and cast it in. Then going into the water, they can at once pick up drugged fish. At some convenient place lower down, in a hole below a fall, they will have fixed before-hand a wattle of finger-thick willow-withes, making it firm by piling stones on its sides. The water goes rushing and dashing through the wattle, but leaves on it any fish that may have come floating down. This way of catching fish is practised in Gul-bahār, Parwān and Istālif.

- Fol. 143b. Fish are had in winter in the Lamghānāt by this curious device:—People dig a pit to the depth of a house, in the bed of a stream, below a fall, line it with stones like a cooking-place, and build up stones round it above, leaving one opening only, under water. Except by this one opening, the fish have no inlet or outlet, but the water finds its way through the stones. This makes a sort of fish-pond from which, when wanted in winter, fish can be taken, 30–40 together. Except at the opening, left where convenient, the sides of the fish-pond are made fast with rice-straw, kept in place by stones. A piece of wicker-work is pulled into the said opening by its edges, gathered together, and into this a second piece, (a tube,) is inserted, fitting it at the mouth but reaching half-way into it only.² The fish go through the smaller piece into the larger one, out from which they cannot get. The second narrows towards its inner mouth, its pointed ends being drawn so close that the fish, once entered, cannot turn, but must go on, one by one, into the larger piece. Out of that they cannot return because of the pointed ends of the inner, narrow mouth. The wicker-work fixed and the rice-straw making the pond fast, whatever fish are inside can be taken out;³ any also which, trying to escape may have gone into the wicker-work,

¹ *qūlān qūyirūghī*. Amongst the many plants used to drug fish I have not found this one mentioned. *Khār-sākra* and *khār-fāq* approach it in verbal meaning; the first describes colocynth, the second, wild rue. See Watts' *Economic Products of India* iii, 366 and Bellew's *Notes* pp. 182, 471 and 478.

² Much trouble would have been spared to himself and his translators, if Bābur had known a lobster-pot.

³ The fish, it is to be inferred, came down the fall into the pond.

are taken in it, because they have no way out. This method of catching fish we have seen nowhere else.¹

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE RESUMED.²

(a. *Departure of Muqīm and allotment of lands.*)

A few days after the taking of Kābul, Muqīm asked leave to set off for Qandahār. As he had come out of the town on terms and conditions, he was allowed to go to his father (Zu'n-nūn) and his elder brother (Shāh Beg), with all his various people, his goods and his valuables, safe and sound.

Directly he had gone, the Kābul-country was shared out to the Mirzās and the guest-begs.³ To Jahāngīr Mirzā was given Ghaznī with its dependencies and appurtenances; to Nāšir Mirzā, the Nīngnahār *tūmān*, Mandrāwar, Nūr-valley, Kūnār, Nūr-gal (Rock-village?) and Chīghān-sarāī. To some of the begs who had been with us in the guerilla-times and had come to Kābul with us, were given villages, fief-fashion.⁴ *Wilāyat* Fol. 144b. itself was not given at all.⁵ It was not only then that I looked with more favour on guest-begs and stranger-begs than I did on old servants and Andijānīs; this I have always done whenever the Most High God has shown me His favour; yet it is remarkable that, spite of this, people have blamed me constantly as though I had favoured none but old servants and Andijānīs. There is a proverb, (Turkī) "What will a foe not say? what enters not into dream?" and (Persian) "A town-gate can be shut, a foe's mouth never."

¹ Burnes and Vigne describe a fall 20 miles from Kābul, at "Tangī Gharoi", [below where the Tag-aū joins the Bārān-water,] to which in their day, Kābulīs went out for the amusement of catching fish as they try to leap up the fall. Were these migrants seeking upper waters or were they captives in a fish-pond?

² Elph. MS. f. 111; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 116b and 217 f. 97b; Mems. p. 155; *Mems.* i, 318.

³ *mihmān-beglar*, an expression first used by Bābur here, and due, presumably, to accessions from Khusrāu Shāh's following. A parallel case is given in Max Müller's *Science of Language* i, 348 ed. 1871, "Turkmān tribes . . . call themselves, not subjects, but guests of the Uzbek Khāns."

⁴ *iyūl-dākh* in all the Turkī MSS. Ilminsky, de Courteille and Zenker, *iyūl-dākh*, Turkī, a fief.

⁵ *Wilāyat khūd hech bīrīmādī*; W.-i-B. 215 f. 116b, *Wilāyat dāda na shudā* and 217 f. 97b, *Wilāyat khūd hech dāda na shud*. By this I understand that he kept the lands of Kābul itself in his own hands. He mentions (f. 350) and Gul-badan mentions (H.N. f. 40b) his resolve so to keep Kābul. I think he kept not only the fort but all lands constituting the Kābul *tūmān* (f. 135b and note).

(b. A levy in grain.)

Many clans and hordes had come from Samarkand, Hīṣār and Qūndūz into the Kābul-country. Kābul is a small country ; it is also of the sword, not of the pen ;¹ to take in money from it for all these tribesmen was impossible. It therefore seemed advisable to take in grain, provision for the families of these clans so that their men could ride on forays with the army. Accordingly it was decided to levy 30,000 ass-loads² of grain on Kābul, Ghaznī and their dependencies ; we knew nothing at that time about the harvests and incomings ; the impost was excessive, and under it the country suffered very grievously.

In those days I devised the Bāburī script.³

(c. Foray on the Hazāras.)

Fol. 145.

A large tribute in horses and sheep had been laid on the Sulṭān Mas'ūdī Hazāras ;⁴ word came a few days after collectors had gone to receive it, that the Hazāras were refractory and would not give their goods. As these same tribesmen had before that come down on the Ghaznī and Gīrdīz roads, we got to horse, meaning to take them by surprise. Riding by the Maidān-road, we crossed the Nirkh-pass⁵ by night and at the Morning-prayer fell upon them near Jāl-tū (var. Chā-tū). The incursion was not what was wished.⁶ We came back by the Tunnel-rock (Sang-i-sūrākh) ; Jahāngīr Mīrzā (there?) took leave for Ghaznī. On our reaching Kābul, Yār-i-ḥusain, son of Daryā Khān, coming in from Bhīra, waited on me.⁷

¹ *Saifi dūr, qalamī aīmās*, i.e. tax is taken by force, not paid on a written assessment.

² *khar-wār*, about 700 lbs Averdupois (Erskine). Cf. *Āyīn-i-akbarī* (Jarrett, ii, 394).

³ Niẓāmud-dīn Aḥmad and Badāyūnī both mention this script and say that in it Bābur transcribed a copy of the Qorān for presentation to Makka. Badāyūnī says it was unknown in his day, the reign of Akbar (*Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī*, lith. ed. p. 193, and *Muntakhabu't-tawārīkh* Bib. Ind. ed. iii, 273).

⁴ Bābur's route, taken with one given by Raverty (*Notes* p. 691), allows these Hazāras, about whose location Mr. Erskine was uncertain, to be located between the Takht-pass (Arghandī-Maidān-Unai road), on their east, and the Sang-lākh mountains, on their west.

⁵ The Takht-pass, one on which from times immemorial, toll (*nirkh*) has been taken.

⁶ *khāṭir-khwāh chāpilmādī*, which perhaps implies mutual discontent, Bābur's with his gains, the Hazāras' with their losses. As the second Persian translation omits the negative, the Memoirs does the same.

⁷ Bhīra being in Shāhpūr, this Khān's *daryā* will be the Jehlam.

(d. Bābur's first start for Hindūstān.)

When, a few days later, the army had been mustered, persons acquainted with the country were summoned and questioned about its every side and quarter. Some advised a march to the Plain (Dasht);¹ some approved of Bangash; some wished to go into Hindūstān. The discussion found settlement in a move on Hindūstān.

It was in the month of Sha'bān (910 AH.—Jan. 1505 AD.), the Sun being in Aquarius, that we rode out of Kābul for Hindūstān. We took the road by Bādām-chashma and Jagdālīk and reached Adīnapūr in six marches. Till that time I had never seen a hot country or the Hindūstān border-land. In Nīngnahār² another world came to view,—other grasses, other trees, other animals, other birds, and other manners and customs of clan and horde. We were amazed, and truly there was ground for amaze. Fol. 145b.

Nāṣir Mīrzā, who had gone earlier to his district, waited on me in Adīnapūr. We made some delay in Adīnapūr in order to let the men from behind join us, also a contingent from the clans which had come with us into Kābul and were wintering in the Lamghānāt.³ All having joined us, we marched to below Jūi-shāhī and dismounted at Qūsh-gūmbaz.⁴ There Nāṣir Mīrzā asked for leave to stay behind, saying he would follow in a few days after making some sort of provision for his dependants and followers. Marching on from Qūsh-gūmbaz, when we dismounted at Hot-spring (Garm-chashma), a head-man of the Gāgīānī was brought in, a *Fajjī*,⁵ presumably with his caravan. We took him with us to point out the roads. Crossing Khaibar in a march or two, we dismounted at Jām.⁶

¹ Bābur uses Persian *dasht* and Hindī *dūkī*, plain and hill, for the tracts east and west of Mehtar Sulaimān. The first, *dasht*, stands for Dāman (skirt) and Dara-i-jāt, the second, *dūkī*, indefinitely for the broken lands west of the main range, but also, in one instance for the Dūkī [Dūgi] district of Qandahār, as will be noted.

² f. 132. The Jagdālīk-pass for centuries has separated the districts of Kābul and Nīngnahār. Forster (*Travels* ii, 68), making the journey the reverse way, was sensible of the climatic change some 3m. east of Gandamak. Cf. Wood's *Report* I. p. 6.

³ These are they whose families Nāṣir Mīrzā shepherded out of Kābul later (f. 154, f. 155).

⁴ Bird's-dome, opposite the mouth of the Kūnār-water (*S.A. War*, Map p. 64).

⁵ This word is variously pointed and is uncertain. Mr. Erskine adopted "Pekhi", but, on the whole, it may be best to read, here and on f. 146, Ar. *fajjī* or pers. *pajj*, mountain or pass. To do so shews the guide to be one located in the Khaibar-pass, a *Fajjī* or *Pajjī*.

⁶ mod. Jām-rūd (Jām-torrent), presumably.

Fol. 146.

Tales had been told us about Gūr-khattarī;¹ it was said to be a holy place of the Jogīs and Hindūs who come from long distances to shave their heads and beards there. I rode out at once from Jām to visit Bigrām,² saw its great tree,³ and all the country round, but, much as we enquired about Gūr-khattarī, our guide, one Malik Bū-saʿīd *Kamarī*,⁴ would say nothing about it. When we were almost back in camp, however, he told Khwāja Muḥammad-amīn that it was in Bigrām and that he had said nothing about it because of its confined cells and narrow passages. The Khwāja, having there and then abused him, repeated to us what he had said, but we could not go back because the road was long and the day far spent.

(e. *Move against Kohāt.*)

Whether to cross the water of Sind, or where else to go, was discussed in that camp.⁵ Bāqī *Chaghāniānī* represented that it seemed we might go, without crossing the river and with one night's halt, to a place called Kohāt where were many rich tribesmen; moreover he brought Kābulīs forward who represented the matter just as he had done. We had never heard of the place, but, as he, my man in great authority, saw it good to go to Kohāt and had brought forward support of his recommendation,—this being so! we broke up our plan of crossing the Sind-water into Hindūstān, marched from Jām, forded the Bāra-water, and dismounted not far from the pass (*dābān*) through the Muḥammad-mountain (*fajj*). At the time the Gāgiānī Afghāns were located in Parashawār but, in dread of our army, had drawn off to the skirt-hills. One of their headmen, coming into this camp, did me obeisance; we took him, as

¹ G. of I. xx, 125 and Cunningham's *Ancient History* i, 80. Bābur saw the place in 925 A.H. (f. 232b).

² Cunningham, p. 29. Four ancient sites, not far removed from one another, bear this name, Bigrām, viz. those near Hūpiān, Kābul, Jalālābād and Pashāwar.

³ Cunningham, i, 79.

⁴ Perhaps a native of Kamarī on the Indus, but *kamarī* is a word of diverse application (index s.n.).

⁵ The annals of this campaign to the eastward shew that Bābur was little of a free agent; that many acts of his own were merciful; that he sets down the barbarity of others as it was, according to his plan of writing (f. 86); and that he had with him undisciplined robbers of Khusrāu Shāh's former following. He cannot be taken as having power to command or control the acts of those, his guest-begs and their following, who dictated his movements in this disastrous journey, one worse than a defeat, says Ḥaidar Mirzā.

well as the Fajjī, with us, so that, between them, they might point out the roads. We left that camp at midnight, crossed Muḥammad-fajj at day-rise¹ and by breakfast-time descended on Kohāt. Much cattle and buffalo fell to our men; many Afghāns were taken but I had them all collected and set them free. In the Kohāt houses corn was found without limit. Our foragers raided as far as the Sind-river (*daryā*), rejoining us after one night's halt. As what Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* had led us to expect did not come to hand, he grew rather ashamed of his scheme. Fol. 146b.

When our foragers were back and after two nights in Kohāt, we took counsel together as to what would be our next good move, and we decided to over-run the Afghāns of Bangash and the Bannū neighbourhood, then to go back to Kābul, either through Naghr (Bāghzān?), or by the Farmūl-road (Tochī-valley?).

In Kohāt, Daryā Khān's son, Yār-i-ḥusain, who had waited on me in Kābul made petition, saying, "If royal orders were given me for the Dilazāk,² the Yūsuf-zāi, and the Gāgiānī, these would not go far from my orders if I called up the Pādshāh's swords on the other side of the water of Sind."³ The farmān he petitioned for being given, he was allowed to go from Kohāt.

(f. *March to Thāt.*)

Marching out of Kohāt, we took the Hangū-road for Bangash. Between Kohāt and Hangū that road runs through a valley shut in on either hand by the mountains. When we entered this valley, the Afghāns of Kohāt and thereabouts who were gathered on both hill-skirts, raised their war-cry with great clamour. Our then guide, Malik Bū-sa'īd *Kamarī* was well-acquainted with the Afghān locations; he represented that further on there was a detached hill on our right, where, if the Afghāns came down to it from the hill-skirt, we might surround and take them. God brought it right! The Afghāns, on reaching the place, did come down. We ordered one party of braves to seize the neck of land between that hill and the mountains, others to move along Fol. 147.

¹ For the route here see Masson, i, 117 and Colquhoun's *With the Kuram Field-force* p. 48.

² The Hai. MS. writes this Dilah-zāk.

³ i.e. raised a force in Bābur's name. He took advantage of this farmān in 911 AH. to kill Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* (f. 159b-160).

its sides, so that under attack made from all sides at once, the Afghāns might be made to reach their doom. Against the all-round assault, they could not even fight ; a hundred or two were taken, some were brought in alive but of most, the heads only were brought. We had been told that when Afghāns are powerless to resist, they go before their foe with grass between their teeth, this being as much as to say, " I am your cow." ¹ Here we saw this custom ; Afghāns unable to make resistance, came before us with grass between their teeth. Those our men had brought in as prisoners were ordered to be beheaded and a pillar of their heads was set up in our camp.²

Fol. 147b.

Next day we marched forward and dismounted at Hangū, where local Afghāns had made a *sangur* on a hill. I first heard the word *sangur* after coming to Kābul where people describe fortifying themselves on a hill as making a *sangur*. Our men went straight up, broke into it and cut off a hundred or two of insolent Afghān heads. There also a pillar of heads was set up.

From Hangū we marched, with one night's halt, to Tīl (Thāl),³ below Bangash ; there also our men went out and raided the Afghāns near-by ; some of them however turned back rather lightly from a *sangur*.⁴

(g. Across country into Bannū.)

On leaving Tīl (Thāl) we went, without a road, right down a steep descent, on through out-of-the-way narrows, halted one night, and next day came down into Bannū,⁵ man, horse and camel all worn out with fatigue and with most of the booty in cattle left on the way. The frequented road must have been a few miles to our right ; the one we came by did not seem

¹ Of the Yūsuf-zāi and Ranjit-singh, Masson says, (i, 141) "The miserable, hunted wretches threw themselves on the ground, and placing a blade or tuft of grass in their mouths, cried out, "I am your cow." This act and explanation, which would have saved them from an orthodox Hindū, had no effect with the infuriated Sikhs." This form of supplication is at least as old as the days of Firdausi (Erskine, p. 159 n.). The *Bahār-i-'ajam* is quoted by Vullers as saying that in India, suppliants take straw in the mouth to indicate that they are blanched and yellow from fear.

² This barbarous custom has always prevailed amongst the Tartar conquerors of Asia (Erskine). For examples under Tīmūr see Raverty's *Notes* p. 137.

³ For a good description of the road from Kohāt to Thāl see Bellew's *Mission* p. 104.

⁴ F. 88b has the same phrase about the doubtful courage of one Sayyidi Qarā.

⁵ Not to the mod. town of Bannū, [that having been begun only in 1848 AD.] but wherever their wrong road brought them out into the Bannū amphitheatre. The Survey Map of 1868, No. 15, shews the physical features of the wrong route.

a riding-road at all ; it was understood to be called the Gosfand-Fol. 148.
liyār (Sheep-road),—*liyār* being Afghānī for a road,—because
sometimes shepherds and herdsmen take their flocks and herds
by it through those narrows. Most of our men regarded our
being brought down by that left-hand road as an ill-design of
Malik Bū-sa'īd *Kamarī*.¹

(*h. Bannū and the 'Īsa-khail country.*)

The Bannū lands lie, a dead level, immediately outside the
Bangash and Naghr hills, these being to their north. The
Bangash torrent (the Kūrām) comes down into Bannū and
fertilizes its lands. South(-east) of them are Chaupāra and the
water of Sind ; to their east is Dīn-kot ; (south-)west is the Plain
(Dasht), known also as Bāzār and Tāq.² The Bannū lands are
cultivated by the Kurānī, Kīwī, Sūr, 'Īsa-khail and Nīā-zāi of
the Afghān tribesmen.

After dismounting in Bannū, we heard that the tribesmen in
the Plain (Dasht) were for resisting and were entrenching
themselves on a hill to the north. A force headed by Jahāngīr
Mīrzā, went against what seemed to be the Kīwī *sangur*, took it
at once, made general slaughter, cut off and brought in many
heads. Much white cloth fell into (their) hands. In Bannū
also a pillar of heads was set up. After the *sangur* had been
taken, the Kīwī head-man, Shādī Khān, came to my presence,
with grass between his teeth, and did me obeisance. I pardoned
all the prisoners.

After we had over-run Kohāt, it had been decided that
Bangash and Bannū should be over-run, and return to KābulFol. 148b.
made through Naghr or through Farmūl. But when Bannū had
been over-run, persons knowing the country represented that the
Plain was close by, with its good roads and many people ; so it
was settled to over-run the Plain and to return to Kābul
afterwards by way of Farmūl.³

¹ Perhaps he connived at recovery of cattle by those raided already.

² Tāq is the Tank of Maps ; Bāzār was s.w. of it. Tank for Tāq looks to be
a variant due to nasal utterance (Vigne, p. 77, p. 203 and Map ; and, as bearing on
the nasal, *in loco*, Appendix E).

³ If return had been made after over-running Bannū, it would have been made by
the Tochī-valley and so through Farmūl ; if after over-running the Plain, Bābur's
details shew that the westward turn was meant to be by the Gūmāl-valley and one of

Fol. 149.

Marching next day, we dismounted at an 'Īsa-khail village on that same water (the Kūrām) but, as the villagers had gone into the Chaupāra hills on hearing of us, we left it and dismounted on the skirt of Chaupāra. Our foragers went from there into the hills, destroyed the 'Īsa-khail *sangur* and came back with sheep, herds and cloth. That night the 'Īsa-khail made an attack on us but, as good watch was kept all through these operations, they could do nothing. So cautious were we that at night our right and left, centre and van were just in the way they had dismounted, each according to its place in battle, each prepared for its own post, with men on foot all round the camp, at an arrow's distance from the tents. Every night the army was posted in this way and every night three or four of my household made the rounds with torches, each in his turn. I for my part made the round once each night. Those not at their posts had their noses slit and were led round through the army. Jahāngīr Mīrzā was the right wing, with Bāqī *Chaghānīnī*, Sherīm Ṭaghāī, Sayyid Ḥusain Akbar, and other begs. Mīrzā Khān was the left wing, with 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mīrzā, Qāsim Beg and other begs. In the centre there were no great begs, all were household-begs. Sayyid Qāsim Lord-of-the-gate, was the van, with Bābā Aūghulī, Allāh-bīrdī (var. Allāh-qulī Purān), and some other begs. The army was in six divisions, each of which had its day and night on guard.

Marching from that hill-skirt, our faces set west, we dismounted on a waterless plain (*qūl*) between Bannū and the Plain. The soldiers got water here for themselves, their herds and so on, by digging down, from one to one-and-a-half yards, into the dry water-course, when water came. Not here only did this happen for all the rivers of Hindūstān have the peculiarity that water is safe to be found by digging down from one to one-and-a-half yards in their beds. It is a wonderful provision of God that where, except for the great rivers, there are no running-waters,¹ water should be so placed within reach in dry water-courses.

two routes out of it, still to Farmūl; but the extended march southward to near Dara-i-Ghazī Khān made the westward turn be taken through the valley opening at Sakhi-sawār.

¹ This will mean, none of the artificial runlets familiar where Bābur had lived before getting to know Hindūstān.

We left that dry channel next morning. Some of our men, riding light, reached villages of the Plain in the afternoon, raided a few, and brought back flocks, cloth and horses bred for trade.¹ Pack-animals and camels and also the braves we had outdistanced, kept coming into camp all through that night till dawn and on till that morrow's noon. During our stay there, the foragers brought in from villages in the Plain, masses of sheep and cattle, and, from Afghān traders met on the roads, white cloths, aromatic roots, sugars, *tipūchāqs*, and horses bred for trade. Hindī (var. Mindī) *Mughūl* unhorsed Khwāja Khizr *Lūhānī*, a well-known and respected Afghān merchant, cutting off and bringing in his head. Once when Sherīm Ṭaghāī went in the rear of the foragers, an Afghān faced him on the road and struck off his index-finger. Fol. 149b.

(i. *Return made for Kābul*.)

Two roads were heard of as leading from where we were to Ghaznī; one was the Tunnel-rock (Sang-i-sūrākh) road, passing Birk (Barak) and going on to Farmūl; the other was one along the Gūmāl, which also comes out at Farmūl but without touching Birk (Barak).² As during our stay in the Plain rain had fallen incessantly, the Gūmāl was so swollen that it would have been difficult to cross at the ford we came to; moreover persons well-acquainted with the roads, represented that going by the Gūmāl road, this torrent must be crossed several times, that this was always difficult when the waters were so high and that there was always uncertainty on the Gūmāl road. Nothing was settled then as to which of these two roads to take; I expected it to be settled next day when, after the drum of departure had sounded, we talked it over as we went.³ It was the ʿĪd-i-fitr (March 7th 1505 AD.); while I was engaged in the ablutions due for the breaking of the fast, Jahāngīr Mīrzā and the begs discussed the Fol. 150.

¹ *sauda-āt*, perhaps, pack-ponies, perhaps, bred for sale and not for own use. Burnes observes that in 1837 Lūhānī merchants carried precisely the same articles of trade as in Bābur's day, 332 years earlier (*Report IX* p. 99).

² Mr. Erskine thought it probable that the first of these routes went through Kanigūram, and the second through the Ghwāliri-pass and along the Gūmāl. *Birk*, fastness, would seem an appropriate name for Kanigūram, but, if Bābur meant to go to Ghaznī, he would be off the ordinary Gūmāl-Ghaznī route in going through Farmūl (Aūrgūn). Raverty's *Notes* give much useful detail about these routes, drawn from native sources. For Barak (Birk) see *Notes* pp. 88, 89; Vigne, p. 102.

³ From this it would seem that the alternative roads were approached by one in common.

question of the roads. Some-one said that if we were to turn the bill¹ of the Mehtar Sulaimān range, this lying between the Plain and the Hill-country (*desht u dūki*),² we should get a level road though it might make the difference of a few marches. For this they decided and moved off; before my ablutions were finished the whole army had taken the road and most of it was across the Gūmāl. Not a man of us had ever seen the road; no-one knew whether it was long or short; we started off just on a rumoured word!

The Prayer of the 'Id was made on the bank of the Gūmāl. That year New-year's Day³ fell close to the 'Id-i-fitr, there being only a few days between; on their approximation I composed the following (Turkī) ode:—

Glad is the Bairām-moon for him who sees both the face of the Moon and the Moon-face of his friend;

Sad is the Bairām-moon for me, far away from thy face and from thee.⁴

O Bābur! dream of your luck when your Feast is the meeting, your New-year the face;

For better than that could not be with a hundred New-years and Bairāms.

Fol. 150b. After crossing the Gūmāl torrent, we took our way along the skirt of the hills, our faces set south. A mile or two further on, some death-devoted Afghāns shewed themselves on the lower edge of the hill-slope. Loose rein, off we went for them; most of them fled but some made foolish stand on rocky-piles⁵ of the foot-hills. One took post on a single rock seeming to have a precipice on the further side of it, so that he had not even a way of escape. Sl. Qulī *Chūnāq* (One-eared), all in his mail as he was, got up, slashed at, and took him. This was one of Sl. Qulī's deeds done under my own eyes, which led to his favour and promotion.⁶ At another pile of rock, when Qūtlūq-qadam exchanged blows with an Afghān, they grappled and came down

¹ *tūnshūq*, a bird's bill, used here, as in Selsey-bill, for the naze (nose), or snout, the last spur, of a range.

² Here these words may be common nouns.

³ Nū-roz, the feast of the old Persian New-year (Erskine); it is the day on which the Sun enters Aries.

⁴ In the [Turkī] Elph. and Hai. MSS. and in some Persian ones, there is a space left here as though to indicate a known omission.

⁵ *kamari*, sometimes a cattle-enclosure, which may serve as a *sangur*. The word may stand in one place of its *Bābur-nāma* uses for Gum-rāhī (R.'s *Notes s.n.* Gum-rāhān).

⁶ Index *s.n.*

together, a straight fall of 10 to 12 yards ; in the end Qūtlūq-qadam cut off and brought in his man's head. Kūpūk Beg got hand-on-collar with an Afghān at another hill ; both rolled down to the bottom ; that head also was brought in. All Afghāns taken prisoner were set free.

Marching south through the Plain, and closely skirting Mehtar Sulaimān, we came, with three nights' halt, to a small township, called Bilah, on the Sind-water and dependent on Multān.¹ The villagers crossed the water, mostly taking to their boats, but some flung themselves in to cross. Some were seen standing on an island in front of Bilah. Most of our men, man and horse in mail, plunged in and crossed to the island ; some were carried down, one being Qul-i-arūk (thin slave), one of my servants, another the head tent-pitcher, another Jahāngīr Mīrzā's servant, Qāitmās *Turkmān*.² Cloth and things of the baggage (*partaldīk nīma*) fell to our men. The villagers all crossed by boat to the further side of the river ; once there, some of them, trusting to the broad water, began to make play with their swords. Qul-i-bāyazīd, the taster, one of our men who had crossed to the island, stripped himself and his horse and, right in front of them, plunged by himself into the river. The water on that side of the island may have been twice or thrice as wide as on ours. He swum his horse straight for them till, an arrow's-flight away, he came to a shallow where his weight must have been up-borne, the water being as high as the saddle-flap. There he stayed for as long as milk takes to boil ; no-one supported him from behind ; he had not a chance of support. He made a dash at them ; they shot a few arrows at him but, this not checking him, they took to flight. To swim such a river as the Sind, alone, bare on a bare-backed horse, no-one behind him, and to chase off a foe and occupy his ground, was a mightily bold deed ! He having driven the enemy off, other soldiers went over who returned with cloth and droves of various sorts. Qul-i-bāyazīd had already his place in my favour and kindness on account of his good service, and of courage several times shewn ; from the cook's office I had raised him to the royal taster's ; this time, as

Fol. 151.

Fol. 151b.

¹ Vigne, p. 241.

² This name can be translated "He turns not back" or "He stops not".

will be told, I took up a position full of bounty, favour and promotion,—in truth he was worthy of honour and advancement.

Two other marches were made down the Sind-water. Our men, by perpetually galloping off on raids, had knocked up their horses; usually what they took, cattle mostly, was not worth the gallop; sometimes indeed in the Plain there had been sheep, sometimes one sort of cloth or other, but, the Plain left behind, nothing was had but cattle. A mere servant would bring in 3 or 400 head during our marches along the Sind-water, but every march many more would be left on the road than they brought in.

(j. *The westward march.*)

Fol. 152. Having made three more marches¹ close along the Sind, we left it when we came opposite Pīr Kānū's tomb.² Going to the tomb, we there dismounted. Some of our soldiers having injured several of those in attendance on it, I had them cut to pieces. It is a tomb on the skirt of one of the Mehtar Sulaimān mountains and held in much honour in Hindūstān.

Marching on from Pīr Kānū, we dismounted in the (Pawat) pass; next again in the bed of a torrent in Dūkī.³ After we left this camp there were brought in as many as 20 to 30 followers of a retainer of Shāh Beg, Fāzil *Kūkūldāsh*, the dārogha of Siwī. They had been sent to reconnoitre us but, as at that time, we were not on bad terms with Shāh Beg, we let them go, with horse and arms. After one night's halt, we reached Chūtīālī, a village of Dūkī.

Although our men had constantly galloped off to raid, both before we reached the Sind-water and all along its bank, they had not left horses behind, because there had been plenty of green food and corn. When, however, we left the river and set our faces for Pīr Kānū, not even green food was to be had; a little land under green crop might be found every two or three

¹ i.e. five from Bilah.

² Raverty gives the saint's name as Pīr Kānūn (Ar. *kānūn*, listened to). It is the well-known Sakhi-sarwār, honoured by Hindūs and Muḥammadans. (G. of I., xxi, 390; R.'s *Notes* p. 11 and p. 12 and JASB 1855; Calcutta Review 1875, Macauliffe's art. *On the fair at Sakhi-sarwar*; Leech's *Report* VII, for the route; *Khasinatul 'l-asfiyā* iv, 245.)

³ This seems to be the sub-district of Qandahār, Dūkī or Dūgi.

marches, but of horse-corn, none. So, beyond the camps mentioned, there began the leaving of horses behind. After passing Chūtiālī, my own felt-tent¹ had to be left from want of baggage-beasts. One night at that time, it rained so much, that water stood knee-deep in my tent (*chādār*); I watched the night out till dawn, uncomfortably sitting on a pile of blankets.

(*k. Bāqī Chaghānīānī's treachery.*)

A few marches further on came Jahāngīr Mīrzā, saying, "I have a private word for you." When we were in private, he said, "Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* came and said to me, 'You make the Pādshāh cross the water of Sind with 7, 8, 10 persons, then make yourself Pādshāh.'" Said I, "What others are heard of as consulting with him?" Said he, "It was but a moment ago Bāqī Beg spoke to me; I know no more." Said I, "Find out who the others are; likely enough Sayyid Ḥusain Akbar and Sl. 'Alī the page are in it, as well as Khusrau Shāh's begs and braves." Here the Mīrzā really behaved very well and like a blood-relation; what he now did was the counterpart of what I had done in Kāhmard,² in this same ill-fated mannikin's other scheme of treachery.³

On dismounting after the next march, I made Jahāngīr Mīrzā lead a body of well-mounted men to raid the Aūghāns (Afghāns) of that neighbourhood.

Many men's horses were now left behind in each camping-ground, the day coming when as many as 2 or 300 were left. Braves of the first rank went on foot; Sayyid Maḥmūd *Aūghlāqchī*, one of the best of the household-braves, left his horses behind and walked. In this state as to horses we went all the rest of the way to Ghaznī.

Three or four marches further on, Jahāngīr Mīrzā plundered some Afghāns and brought in a few sheep.

(*l. The Āb-i-istāda.*)

When, with a few more marches, we reached the Standing-water (*Āb-i-istāda*) a wonderfully large sheet of water presented

¹ *khar-gāh*, a folding tent on lattice frame-work, perhaps a *khibitka*.

² It may be more correct to write Kāh-mard, as the Hai. MS. does and to understand in the name a reference to the grass(*kāh*)-yielding capacity of the place.

³ f. 121.

itself to view ; the level lands on its further side could not be seen at all ; its water seemed to join the sky ; the higher land and the mountains of that further side looked to hang between Heaven and Earth, as in a mirage. The waters there gathered are said to be those of the spring-rain floods of the Kattawāz-plain, the Zurmut-valley, and the Qarā-bāgh meadow of the Ghaznī-torrent,—floods of the spring-rains, and the over-plus¹ of the summer-rise of streams.

When within two miles of the Āb-i-istāda, we saw a wonderful thing,—something as red as the rose of the dawn kept shewing and vanishing between the sky and the water. It kept coming and going. When we got quite close we learned that what seemed the cause were flocks of geese,² not 10,000, not 20,000 in a flock, but geese innumerable which, when the mass of birds flapped their wings in flight, sometimes shewed red feathers, sometimes not. Not only was this bird there in countless numbers, but birds of every sort. Eggs lay in masses on the shore. When two Afghāns, come there to collect eggs, saw us, Fol. 153b. they went into the water half a *kuroh* (a mile). Some of our men following, brought them back. As far as they went the water was of one depth, up to a horse's belly ; it seemed not to lie in a hollow, the country being flat.

We dismounted at the torrent coming down to the Āb-i-istāda from the plain of Kattawāz. The several other times we have passed it, we have found a dry channel with no water whatever,³ but this time, there was so much water, from the spring-rains, that no ford could be found. The water was not very broad but very deep. Horses and camels were made to swim it ; some of the baggage was hauled over with ropes. Having got across, we went on through Old Nānī and Sar-i-dih to Ghaznī where for a few days Jahāngīr Mīrzā was our host, setting food before us and offering his tribute.

¹ This may mean, what irrigation has not used.

² Mr. Erskine notes that the description would lead us to imagine a flock of flamingoes. Masson found the lake filled with red-legged, white fowl (i, 262) ; these and also what Bābur saw, may have been the China-goose which has body and neck white, head and tail russet (Bellew's *Mission* p. 402). Broadfoot seems to have visited the lake when migrants were few, and through this to have been led to adverse comment on Bābur's accuracy (p. 350).

³ The usual dryness of the bed may have resulted from the irrigation of much land some 12 miles from Ghaznī.

(m. Return to Kābul.)

That year most waters came down in flood. No ford was found through the water of Dih-i-yaq'ūb.¹ For this reason we went straight on to Kamarī, through the Sajāwand-pass. At Kamarī I had a boat fashioned in a pool, brought and set on the Dih-i-yaq'ūb-water in front of Kamarī. In this all our people were put over.

We reached Kābul in the month of Zū'l-ḥijja (May 1505 AD.).² A few days earlier Sayyid Yūsuf *Aūghlāqchī* had gone to God's Fol. 154. mercy through the pains of colic.

(n. Misconduct of Nāṣir Mīrzā.)

It has been mentioned that at Qūsh-gūmbaz, Nāṣir Mīrzā asked leave to stay behind, saying that he would follow in a few days after taking something from his district for his retainers and followers.³ But having left us, he sent a force against the people of Nūr-valley, they having done something a little refractory. The difficulty of moving in that valley owing to the strong position of its fort and the rice-cultivation of its lands, has already been described.⁴ The Mīrzā's commander, Faḏlī, in ground so impracticable and in that one-road tract, instead of safe-guarding his men, scattered them to forage. Out came the valesmen, drove the foragers off, made it impossible to the rest to keep their ground, killed some, captured a mass of others and of horses,—precisely what would happen to any army chancing to be under such a person as Faḏlī! Whether because of this affair, or whether from want of heart, the Mīrzā did not follow us at all; he stayed behind.

Moreover Ayūb's sons, Yūsuf and Bahlūl (Begchīk), more seditious, silly and arrogant persons than whom there may not exist,—to whom I had given, to Yūsuf Alangār, to Bahlūl 'Alī-shang, they like Nāṣir Mīrzā, were to have taken something from Fol. 154b. their districts and to have come on with him, but, he not coming,

¹ This is the Luhūgur (Logar) water, knee-deep in winter at the ford but spreading in flood with the spring-rains. Bābur, not being able to cross it for the direct roads into Kābul, kept on along its left bank, crossing it eventually at the Kamarī of maps, s.e. of Kābul.

² This disastrous expedition, full of privation and loss, had occupied some four months (T.R. p. 201).

³ f. 145b.

⁴ f. 133b and Appendix F.

neither did they. All that winter they were the companions of his cups and social pleasures. They also over-ran the Tarkalānī Afghāns in it.¹ With the on-coming heats, the Mīrẓā made march off the families of the clans, outside-tribes and hordes who had wintered in Nīngnahār and the Lamghānāt, driving them like sheep before him, with all their goods, as far as the Bārān-water.²

(o. *Affairs of Badakhshān.*)

While Nāṣir Mīrẓā was in camp on the Bārān-water, he heard that the Badakhshīs were united against the Aūzbegs and had killed some of them.

Here are the particulars :—When Shaibāq Khān had given Qūndūz to Qaṃbar Bī and gone himself to Khwārizm³; Qaṃbar Bī, in order to conciliate the Badakhshīs, sent them a son of Muḥammad-i-makhdūmī, Maḥmūd by name, but Mubārak Shāh, —whose ancestors are heard of as begs of the Badakhshān Shāhs,—having uplifted his own head, and cut off Maḥmūd's and those of some Aūzbegs, made himself fast in the fort once known as Shāf-tiwār but re-named by him Qila'-i-zafar. Moreover, in Rustāq Muḥammad *qūrchi*, an armourer of Khusrau Shāh, then occupying Khamalangān, slew Shaibāq Khān's *sadr* and some Aūzbegs and made that place fast. Zubair of Rāgh, again, whose forefathers also will have been begs of the Badakhshān Shāhs, uprose in Rāgh.⁴ Jahāngīr *Turkmān*, again, a servant of Khusrau Shāh's Walī, collected some of the fugitive soldiers and tribesmen Walī had left behind, and with them withdrew into a fastness.⁵

Fol. 155.

Nāṣir Mīrẓā, hearing these various items of news and spurred on by the instigation of a few silly, short-sighted persons to covet Badakhshān, marched along the Shibr-tū and Āb-dara road, driving like sheep before him the families of the men who had come into Kābul from the other side of the Amū.⁶

¹ They were located in Mandrāwar in 926 AH. (f. 251).

² This was done, manifestly, with the design of drawing after the families their fighting men, then away with Bābur.

³ f. 163. Shaibāq Khān besieged Chīn Suft, Sl. Husain Mīrẓā's man in Khwārizm (T.R. p. 204; *Shaibānī-nāma*, Vambéry, Table of Contents and note 89).

⁴ Survey Map 1889, Sadda. The Rāgh-water flows n.w. into the Oxus (Amū).

⁵ *birk*, a mountain stronghold; cf. f. 149b note to Birk (Barak).

⁶ They were thus driven on from the Bārān-water (f. 154b).

(*p. Affairs of Khusrau Shāh.*)

At the time Khusrau Shāh and Aḥmad-i-qāsim were in flight from Ājar for Khurāsān,¹ they meeting in with Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā and Zū'n-nūn Beg, all went on together to the presence of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā in Herī. All had long been foes of his ; all had behaved unmannerly to him ; what brands had they not set on his heart ! Yet all now went to him in their distress, and all went through me. For it is not likely they would have seen him if I had not made Khusrau Shāh helpless by parting him from his following, and if I had not taken Kābul from Zū'n-nūn's son, Muqīm. Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā himself was as dough in the hands of the rest ; beyond their word he could not go. Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā took up a gracious attitude towards one and all, mentioned no-one's misdeeds, even made them gifts. Fol. 155b.

Shortly after their arrival Khusrau Shāh asked for leave to go to his own country, saying, " If I go, I shall get it all into my hands." As he had reached Herī without equipment and without resources, they finessed a little about his leave. He became importunate. Muḥammad Barandūq retorted roundly on him with, " When you had 30,000 men behind you and the whole country in your hands, what did you effect against the Aūzbeg ? What will you do now with your 500 men and the Aūzbegs in possession ?" He added a little good advice in a few sensible words, but all was in vain because the fated hour of Khusrau Shāh's death was near. Leave was at last given because of his importunity ; Khusrau Shāh with his 3 or 400 followers, went straight into the borders of Dahānah. There as Nāṣir Mīrzā had just gone across, these two met.

Now the Badakhshī chiefs had invited only the Mīrzā ; they had not invited Khusrau Shāh. Try as the Mīrzā did to persuade Khusrau Shāh to go into the hill-country,² the latter, quite understanding the whole time, would not consent to go, his own idea being that if he marched under the Mīrzā, he would get the country into his own hands. In the end, unable to agree, each of them, near Ishkimish, arrayed his following, put on mail, drew out to fight, and—departed. Nāṣir Mīrzā went on for Badakhshān ; Khusrau Shāh after collecting a disorderly rabble, good and bad Fol. 156.

¹ f. 126b.

² Ḥiṣār, presumably.

of some 1,000 persons, went, with the intention of laying siege to Qūndūz, to Khwāja Chār-tāq, one or two *yīghāch* outside it.

(q. *Death of Khusrau Shāh.*)

At the time Shaibāq Khān, after overcoming Sultān Aḥmad *Tambal* and Andijān, made a move on Ḥiṣār, his Honour Khusrau Shāh¹ flung away his country (Qūndūz and Ḥiṣār) without a blow struck, and saved himself. Thereupon Shaibāq Khān went to Ḥiṣār in which were Sherīm the page and a few good braves. *They* did not surrender Ḥiṣār, though their honourable beg had flung *his* country away and gone off; they made Ḥiṣār fast. The siege of Ḥiṣār Shaibāq Khān entrusted to Ḥamza Sl. and Maḥdī Sultān,² went to Qūndūz, gave Qūndūz to his younger brother, Maḥmūd Sultān and betook himself without delay to Khwārizm against Chīn Šūfī. But as, before he reached Samarkand on his way to Khwārizm, he heard of the death in Qūndūz of his brother, Maḥmūd Sultān, he gave that place to Qaṣbar Bī of Marv.³

Fol. 156b.

Qaṣbar Bī was in Qūndūz when Khusrau Shāh went against it; he at once sent off gallopers to summon Ḥamza Sl. and the others Shaibāq Khān had left behind. Ḥamza Sl. came himself as far as the *sarāi* on the Amū bank where he put his sons and begs in command of a force which went direct against Khusrau Shāh. There was neither fight nor flight for that fat, little man; Ḥamza Sultān's men unhorsed him, killed his sister's son, Aḥmad-i-qāsim, Sherīm the page and several good braves. Him they took into Qūndūz, there struck his head off and from there sent it to Shaibāq Khān in Khwārizm.⁴

(r. *Conduct in Kābul of Khusrau Shāh's retainers.*)

Just as Khusrau Shāh had said they would do, his former retainers and followers, no sooner than he marched against

¹ Here "His Honour" translates Bābur's clearly ironical honorific plural.

² These two sultāns, almost always mentioned in alliance, may be Tīmūrīds by maternal descent (Index *s.nn.*). So far I have found no direct statement of their parentage. My husband has shewn me what may be one indication of it, *viz.* that two of the uncles of Shaibāq Khān (whose kinsmen the sultāns seem to be), Qūj-kūnji and Sīūnjak, were sons of a daughter of the Tīmūrīd Aulūgh Beg *Samarkandī* (H.S. ii, 318). See Vambéry's *Bukhārā* p. 248 note.

³ For the deaths of Tambal and Maḥmūd, mentioned in the above summary of Shaibāq Khān's actions, see the *Shaibānī-nāma*, Vambéry, p. 323.

⁴ H.S. ii, 323, for Khusrau Shāh's character and death.

Qūndūz, changed in their demeanour to me,¹ most of them marching off to near Khwāja-i-riwāj.² The greater number of the men in my service had been in his. The Mughūls behaved well, taking up a position of adherence to me.³ On all this the news of Khusrau Shāh's death fell like water on fire; it put his men out.

¹ f. 124.

² Khwāja-of-the-rhubarb, presumably a shrine near rhubarb-grounds (i. 129b).

³ *yakshī bārātilār*, lit. went well, a common expression in the *Bābur-nāma*, of which the reverse statement is *yamānlīk bīla bārātī* (f. 163). Some Persian MSS. make the Mughūls disloyal but this is not only in opposition to the Turki text, it is a redundant statement since if disloyal, they are included in Bābur's previous statement, as being Khusrau Shāh's retainers. What might call for comment in Mughūls would be loyalty to Bābur.

911 A.H.—JUNE 4TH 1505 TO MAY 24TH 1506 A.D.¹

(a. *Death of Qūtlūq-nigār Khānīm.*)

Fol. 157. In the month of Muḥarram my mother had fever. Blood was let without effect and a Khurāsānī doctor, known as Sayyid Ṭabīb, in accordance with the Khurāsān practice, gave her water-melon, but her time to die must have come, for on the Saturday after six days of illness, she went to God's mercy.

On Sunday I and Qāsim Kūkūldāsh conveyed her to the New-year's Garden on the mountain-skirt² where Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā had built a house, and there, with the permission of his heirs,³ we committed her to the earth. While we were mourning for her, people let me know about (the death of) my younger Khān *dādā* Alacha Khān, and my grandmother Aisān-daulat Begīm.⁴ Close upon Khānīm's Fortieth⁵ arrived from Khurāsān Shāh Begīm the mother of the Khāns, together with my maternal-aunt Mihr-nigār Khānīm, formerly of Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā's *haram*, and Muḥammad Ḥusain *Kūrkan Dūghlāt*.⁶ Lament broke out afresh; the bitterness of these partings was extreme. When the mourning-rites had been observed, food and victuals set out for the poor and destitute, the Qorān recited, and prayers offered for the departed souls, we steadied ourselves and all took heart again.

(b. *A futile start for Qandahār.*)

When set free from these momentous duties, we got an army to horse for Qandahār under the strong insistence of Bāqī

¹ Elph. MS. f. 121b: W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 126 and 217 f. 106b; Mems. p. 169.

² *tāgh-dāmanasī*, presumably the Koh-dāman, and the garden will thus be the one of f. 136b.

³ If these heirs were descendants of Aūlūgh Beg M. one would be at hand in 'Abdu'r-razzāq, then a boy, and another, a daughter, was the wife of Muqīm *Arghūn*. As Mr. Erskine notes, Musalmāns are most scrupulous not to bury their dead in ground gained by violence or wrong.

⁴ The news of Aḥmad's death was belated; he died some 13 months earlier, in the end of 909 A.H. and in Eastern Turkistān. Perhaps details now arrived.

⁵ *i.e.* the fortieth day of mourning, when alms are given.

⁶ Of those arriving, the first would find her step-daughter dead, the second her sister, the third, his late wife's sister (T.R. p. 196).

Chaghāniānī. At the start I went to Qūsh-nādir (var. nāwar) where on dismounting I got fever. It was a strange sort of illness for whenever with much trouble I had been awakened, my eyes closed again in sleep. In four or five days I got quite well.

(c. *An earthquake*.)

At that time there was a great earthquake¹ such that most of the ramparts of forts and the walls of gardens fell down; houses were levelled to the ground in towns and villages and many persons lay dead beneath them. Every house fell in Paghmān-village, and 70 to 80 strong heads-of-houses lay dead under their walls. Between Pagh-mān and Beg-tūt² a piece of ground, a good stone-throw³ wide may-be, slid down as far as an arrow's-flight; where it had slid springs appeared. On the road between Istarghach and Maidān the ground was so broken up for 6 to 8 *yīghāch* (36-48 m.) that in some places it rose as high as an elephant, in others sank as deep; here and there people were sucked in. When the Earth quaked, dust rose from the tops of the mountains. Nūru'l-lāh the *tambourchī*⁴ had been playing before me; he had two instruments with him and at the moment of the quake had both in his hands; so out of his own control was he that the two knocked against each other. Jahāngīr Mīrzā was in the porch of an upper-room at a house built by Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā in Tīpa; when the Earth quaked, he let himself down and was not hurt, but the roof fell on some-one with him in that upper-room, presumably one of his own circle; that this person was not hurt in the least must have been solely through God's mercy. In Tīpa most of the houses were levelled to the ground. The Earth quaked 33 times on the first day, and for a month afterwards used to quake two or three times in the 24 hours. The begs and soldiers having been

Fol. 157b.

¹ This will be the earthquake felt in Agra on Šafar 3rd 911 AH. (July 5th 1505 AD. Erskine's *History of India* i, 229 note). Cf. Elliot and Dowson, iv, 465 and v, 99.

² Raverty's *Notes* p. 690.

³ *bīr kitta tāsh āīmī*; var. *bāsh āīmī*. If *tāsh* be right, the reference will probably be to the throw of a catapult.

⁴ Here almost certainly, a drummer, because there were two tambours and because also Bābur uses '*āūdī & ghachakī*' for the other meanings of *tambourchī*, lutanist and guitarist. The word has found its way, as *tambourgi*, into Childe Harold's Pilgrimage (Canto ii, lxxii. H.B.).

Fol. 158. ordered to repair the breaches made in the towers and ramparts of the fort (Kābul), everything was made good again in 20 days or a month by their industry and energy.

(d. *Campaign against Qalāt-i-ghilzāi*.)

Owing to my illness and to the earthquake, our plan of going to Qandahār had fallen somewhat into the background. The illness left behind and the fort repaired, it was taken up again. We were undecided at the time we dismounted below Shniz¹ whether to go to Qandahār, or to over-run the hills and plains. Jahāngīr Mīrzā and the begs having assembled, counsel was taken and the matter found settlement in a move on Qalāt. On this move Jahāngīr Mīrzā and Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* insisted strongly.

At Tāzi² there was word that Sher-i-'alī the page with Kichik Bāqī *Diwāna* and others had thoughts of desertion; all were arrested; Sher-i-'alī was put to death because he had given clear signs of disloyalty and misdoing both while in my service and not in mine, in this country and in that country.³ The others were let go with loss of horse and arms.

Fol. 158b. On arriving at Qalāt we attacked at once and from all sides, without our mail and without siege-appliances. As has been mentioned in this History, Kichik Khwāja, the elder brother of Khwāja Kalān, was a most daring brave; he had used his sword in my presence several times; he now clambered up the south-west tower of Qalāt, was pricked in the eye with a spear when almost up, and died of the wound two or three days after the place was taken. Here that Kichik Bāqī *Diwāna* who had been arrested when about to desert with Sher-i-'alī the page, expiated his baseness by being killed with a stone when he went under the ramparts. One or two other men died also. Fighting of this sort went on till the Afternoon Prayer when, just as our men were worn-out with the struggle and labour, those in the fort asked for peace and made surrender. Qalāt had been given by Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn* to Muqīm, and in it now were Muqīm's retainers, Farrukh *Arghūn* and Qarā *Bilūt* (Afghān). When they came out with their swords and quivers hanging round

¹ Kābul-Ghaznī road (R.'s *Notes* index s. n.).

² var. Yārī. Tāzi is on the Ghaznī-Qalāt-i-ghilzāi road (R.'s *Notes*, Appendix p. 46).

³ i. e. in Kābul and in the Trans-Himalayan country.

their necks, we forgave their offences.¹ It was not my wish to reduce this high family² to great straits; for why? Because if we did so when such a foe as the Aūzbeg was at our side, what would be said by those of far and near, who saw and heard?

As the move on Qalāt had been made under the insistence of Jahāngīr Mirzā and Bāqī *Chaghānīānī*, it was now made over to the Mirzā's charge. He would not accept it; Bāqī also could give no good answer in the matter. So, after such a storming and assaulting of Qalāt, its capture was useless.

We went back to Kābul after over-running the Afghāns of Sawā-sang and Ālā-tāgh on the south of Qalāt.

Fol. 159.

The night we dismounted at Kābul I went into the fort; my tent and stable being in the Chār-bāgh, a Khirilchī thief going into the garden, fetched out and took away a bay horse of mine with its accoutrements, and my *khachar*.³

(*e. Death of Bāqī Chaghānīānī.*)

From the time Bāqī *Chaghānīānī* joined me on the Amū-bank, no man of mine had had more trust and authority.⁴ If a word were said, if an act were done, that word was his word, that act, his act. Spite of this, he had not done me fitting service, nor had he shewn me due civility. Quite the contrary! he had done things bad and unmannerly. Mean he was, miserly and malicious, ill-tongued, envious and cross-natured. So miserly was he that although when he left Tirmīz, with his family and possessions, he may have owned 30 to 40,000 sheep, and although those masses of sheep used to pass in front of us at every camping-ground, he did not give a single one to our bare

¹ These will be those against Bābur's suzerainty done by their defence of Qalāt for Muqīm.

² *tabaqa*, dynasty. By using this word Bābur shews recognition of high birth. It is noticeable that he usually writes of an Arghūn chief either simply as "Beg" or without a title. This does not appear to imply admission of equality, since he styles even his brothers and sisters Mirzā and Begīm; nor does it shew familiarity of intercourse, since none seems to have existed between him and Zū'n-nūn or Muqīm. That he did not admit equality is shewn on f. 208. The T.R. styles Zū'n-nūn "Mirzā", a title by which, as also by Shāh, his descendants are found styled (A.-i.-a. Blochmann, s.v.).

³ Turkī *khachar* is a camel or mule used for carrying personal effects. The word has been read by some scribes as *khanjar*, dagger.

⁴ In 910 AH. he had induced Bābur to come to Kābul instead of going into Khurāsān (H.S. iii, 319); in the same year he dictated the march to Kohāt, and the rest of that disastrous travel. His real name was not Bāqī but Muḥammad Bāqir (H.S. iii, 311).

braves, tortured as they were by the pangs of hunger ; at last in Kāh-mard, he gave 50 !

Fol. 159b. Spite of acknowledging me for his chief (*pādshāh*), he had nagarets beaten at his own Gate. He was sincere to none, had regard for none. What revenue there is from Kābul (town) comes from the *ṭamghā*¹ ; the whole of this he had, together with the *dārogha*-ship in Kābul and Panjhīr, the Gadai (var. Kidī) Hazāra, and *kūshlūk*² and control of the Gate.³ With all this favour and finding, he was not in the least content ; quite the reverse ! What medley of mischief he planned has been told ; we had taken not the smallest notice of any of it, nor had we cast it in his face. He was always asking for leave, affecting scruple at making the request. We used to acknowledge the scruple and excuse ourselves from giving the leave. This would put him down for a few days ; then he would ask again. He went too far with his affected scruple and his takings of leave ! Sick were we too of his conduct and his character. We gave the leave ; he repented asking for it and began to agitate against it, but all in vain ! He got written down and sent to me, " His Highness made compact not to call me to account till nine⁴ misdeeds had issued from me." I answered with a reminder of eleven successive faults and sent this to him through Mullā Bābā of Pashāghar. He submitted and was allowed to go towards Hindūstān, taking his family and possessions. A few of his retainers escorted him through Khaibar and returned ; he joined Bāqī *Gāgīānī*'s caravan and crossed at Nīl-āb.

Daryā Khān's son, Yār-i-ḥusain was then in Kacha-kot,⁵ having drawn into his service, on the warrant of the *farmān* taken from me in Kohāt, a few Afghāns of the Dilazāk (var. Dilah-zāk) and Yūsuf-zāī and also a few Jats and Gujūrs.⁶ With these he beat the roads, taking toll with might and main.

¹ These transit or custom duties are so called because the dutiable articles are stamped with a *ṭamghā*, a wooden stamp.

² Perhaps this word is an equivalent of Persian *goshī*, a tax on cattle and beasts of burden.

³ Bāqī was one only and not the head of the Lords of the Gate.

⁴ The choice of the number nine, links on presumably to the mystic value attached to it e.g. Tarkhāns had nine privileges ; gifts were made by nines.

⁵ It is near Ḥasan-abdāl (A. i-A. Jarrett, ii, 324).

⁶ For the *farmān*, f. 146b ; for Gujūrs, G. of I.

Hearing about Bāqī, he blocked the road, made the whole party prisoner, killed Bāqī and took his wife. Fol. 160.

We ourselves had let Bāqī go without injuring him, but his own misdeeds rose up against him; his own acts defeated him.

Leave thou to Fate the man who does thee wrong;
For Fate is an avenging servitor.

(*f. Attack on the Turkmān Hazāras.*)

That winter we just sat in the Chār-bāgh till snow had fallen once or twice.

The Turkmān Hazāras, since we came into Kābul, had done a variety of insolent things and had robbed on the roads. We thought therefore of over-running them, went into the town to Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā's house at the Būstān-sarāī, and thence rode out in the month of Sha'bān (Feb. 1506 AD.).

We raided a few Hazāras at Janglik, at the mouth of the Dara-i-khūsh (Happy-valley).¹ Some were in a cave near the valley-mouth, hiding perhaps. Shaikh Darwīsh Kūkūldāsh went

(*Author's note on Shaikh Darwīsh.*) He had been with me in the guerilla-times, was Master-armourer (*gūr-begī*), drew a strong bow and shot a good shaft.

incautiously right (*auq*) up to the cave-mouth, was shot (*auqlāb*) in the nipple by a Hazāra inside and died there and then (*auq*).²

As most of the Turkmān Hazāras seemed to be wintering inside the Dara-i-khūsh, we marched against them.

The valley is shut in,³ by a mile-long gully stretching inwards from its mouth. The road engirdles the mountain, having a straight fall of some 50 to 60 yards below it and above it a precipice. Horsemen go along it in single-file. We passed the gully and went on through the day till between the Two Prayers (3 p.m.) without meeting a single person. Having spent the night somewhere, we found a fat camel⁴ belonging to the Hazāras, had it killed, made part of its flesh into *kabābs*⁵ and Fol. 160b.

¹ var. Khwesh. Its water flows into the Ghūr-bund stream; it seems to be the Dara-i-Turkmān of Stanford and the Survey Maps both of which mark Janglik. For Hazāra turbulence, f. 135b and note.

² The repetition of *auq* in this sentence can hardly be accidental.

³ *ṭaur* [*dara*], which I take to be Turki, round, complete.

⁴ Three MSS. of the Turki text write *bīr sīmīslūq ṭīwah*; but the two Persian translations have *yak shuturlūq farbīh*, a *shuturlūq* being a baggage-camel with little hair (Erskine).

⁵ *brochettes*, meat cut into large mouthfuls, spitted and roasted.

cooked part in a ewer (*aftāb*). Such good camel-flesh had never been tasted ; some could not tell it from mutton.

Next day we marched on for the Hazāra winter-camp. At the first watch (9 a.m.) a man came from ahead, saying that the Hazāras had blocked a ford in front with branches, checked our men and were fighting. That winter the snow lay very deep ; to move was difficult except on the road. The swampy meadows (*tuk-āb*) along the stream were all frozen ; the stream could only be crossed from the road because of snow and ice. The Hazāras had cut many branches, put them at the exit from the water and were fighting in the valley-bottom with horse and foot or raining arrows down from either side.

Fol. 161.

Muḥammad 'Alī *Mubashshir*¹ Beg one of our most daring braves, newly promoted to the rank of beg and well worthy of favour, went along the branch-blocked road without his mail, was shot in the belly and instantly surrendered his life. As we had gone forward in haste, most of us were not in mail. Shaft after shaft flew by and fell ; with each one Yūsuf's Aḥmad said anxiously, "Bare² like this you go into it ! I have seen two arrows go close to your head !" Said I, "Don't fear ! Many as good arrows as these have flown past my head !" So much said, Qāsim Beg, his men in full accoutrement,³ found a ford on our right and crossed. Before their charge the Hazāras could make no stand ; they fled, swiftly pursued and unhorsed one after the other by those just up with them.

In guerdon for this feat Bangash was given to Qāsim Beg. Hātim the armourer having been not bad in the affair, was promoted to Shaikh Darwīsh's office of *qūr-begī*. Bābā Qulī's Kīpik (*sic*) also went well forward in it, so we entrusted Muḥ. 'Alī *Mubashshir*'s office to him.

Sl. Qulī *Chūnāq* (one-eared) started in pursuit of the Hazāras but there was no getting out of the hollow because of the snow.

Fol. 161b.

For my own part I just went with these braves.

Near the Hazāra winter-camp we found many sheep and herds of horses. I myself collected as many as 4 to 500 sheep

¹ Perhaps he was officially an announcer ; the word means also bearer of good news.

² *yīlāng*, without mail, as in the common phrase *yīgīt yīlāng*, a bare brave.

³ *āūpchin*, of horse and man (f. 113b and note).

and from 20 to 25 horses. Sl. Qulī *Chūnāq* and two or three of my personal servants were with me. I have ridden in a raid twice¹; this was the first time; the other was when, coming in from Khurāsān (912 A.H.), we raided these same Turkmān Hazāras. Our foragers brought in masses of sheep and horses. The Hazāra wives and their little children had gone off up the snowy slopes and stayed there; we were rather idle and it was getting late in the day; so we turned back and dismounted in their very dwellings. Deep indeed was the snow that winter! Off the road it was up to a horse's *qāptāl*,² so deep that the night-watch was in the saddle all through till shoot of dawn.

Going out of the valley, we spent the next night just inside the mouth, in the Hazāra winter-quarters. Marching from there, we dismounted at Janglik. At Janglik Yārak Ṭaghāī and other late-comers were ordered to take the Hazāras who had killed Shaikh Darwīsh and who, luckless and death-doomed, seemed still to be in the cave. Yārak Ṭaghāī and his band by sending smoke into the cave, took 70 to 80 Hazāras who mostly died by the sword.

(*g. Collection of the Nijr-aū tribute.*)

On the way back from the Hazāra expedition we went to the Āī-tūghdī neighbourhood below Bārān³ in order to collect the revenue of Nijr-aū. Jahāngīr Mīrzā, come up from Ghaznī, waited on me there. At that time, on Ramzān 13th (Feb. 7th) such sciatic-pain attacked me that for 40 days some-one had to turn me over from one side to the other. Fol. 162.

Of the (seven) valleys of the Nijr-water the Pīchkān-valley,—and of the villages in the Pīchkān-valley Ghain,—and of Ghain its head-man Husain *Ghainī* in particular, together with his elder and younger brethren, were known and notorious for obstinacy and daring. On this account a force was sent under Jahāngīr Mīrzā, Qāsim Beg going too, which went to Sar-i-tūp (Hill-top), stormed and took a *sangur* and made a few meet their doom.

¹ Manifestly Bābur means that he twice actually helped to collect the booty.

² This is that part of a horse covered by the two side-pieces of a Turki saddle, from which the side-arch springs on either side (Shaw).

³ *Bārān-nūng ayāghī*. Except the river I have found nothing called Bārān; the village marked Baian on the French Map would suit the position; it is n.e. of Chār-yak-kār (f. 184*b* note).

Because of the sciatic pain, people made a sort of litter for me in which they carried me along the bank of the Bārān and into the town to the Būstān-sarāī. There I stayed for a few days ; before that trouble was over a boil came out on my left cheek ; this was lanced and for it I also took a purge. When relieved, I went out into the Chār-bāgh.

(*h. Misconduct of Jahāngīr Mīrzā.*)

At the time Jahāngīr Mīrzā waited on me, Ayūb's sons Yūsuf and Buhlūl, who were in his service, had taken up a strifeful and seditious attitude towards me ; so the Mīrzā was not found to be what he had been earlier. In a few days he marched out of Tīpa in his mail,¹ hurried back to Ghaznī, there took Nānī, killed some of its people and plundered all. Fol. 162b. After that he marched off with whatever men he had, through the Hazāras,² his face set for Bāmīān. God knows that nothing had been done by me or my dependants to give him ground for anger or reproach ! What was heard of later on as perhaps explaining his going off in the way he did, was this ;—When Qāsim Beg went with other begs, to give him honouring meeting as he came up from Ghaznī, the Mīrzā threw a falcon off at a quail. Just as the falcon, getting close, put out its pounce to seize the quail, the quail dropped to the ground. Hereupon shouts and cries, "Taken ! is it taken ?" Said Qāsim Beg, "Who looses the foe in his grip ?" Their misunderstanding of this was their sole reason for going off, but they backed themselves on one or two other worse and weaker old cronish matters.³ After doing in Ghaznī what has been mentioned, they drew off through the Hazāras to the Mughūl

¹ *i.e.* prepared to fight.

² For the Hazāra (Turkī, Mīng) on the Mīrzā's road see Raverty's routes from Ghaznī to the north. An account given by the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* (p. 196) of Jahāngīr's doings is confused ; its parenthetical "(at the same time)" can hardly be correct. Jahāngīr left Ghaznī now, (911 A.H.), as Bābur left Kābul in 912 A.H. without knowledge of Husain's death (911 A.H.). Bābur had heard it (f. 183b) before Jahāngīr joined him (912 A.H.) ; after their meeting they went on together to Herī. The petition of which the T.R. speaks as made by Jahāngīr to Bābur, that he might go into Khurāsān and help the Bāi-qarā Mīrzās must have been made after the meeting of the two at Saf-hill (f. 184b).

³ The plurals *they* and *their* of the preceding sentence stand no doubt for the Mīrzā, Yūsuf and Buhlūl who all had such punishment due as would lead them to hear threat in Qāsim's words now when all were within Bābur's pounce.

clans.¹ These clans at that time had left Nāṣir Mīrẓā but had not joined the Aūzbeg, and were in Yāi, Astar-āb and the summer-pastures thereabouts.

(i. *Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā calls up help against Shaibāq Khān.*)

Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā, having resolved to repel Shaibāq Khān, summoned all his sons ; me too he summoned, sending to me Sayyid Afẓal, son of Sayyid 'Alī *Khwāb-bīn* (Seer-of-dreams). It was right on several grounds for us to start for Khurāsān. One ground was that when a great ruler, sitting, as Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā sat, in Tīmūr Beg's place, had resolved to act against such a foe as Shaibāq Khān and had called up many men and had summoned his sons and his begs, if there were some who went on foot it was for us to go if on our heads ! if some took the bludgeon, we would take the stone ! A second ground was that, since Jahāngīr Mīrẓā had gone to such lengths and had behaved so badly,² we had either to dispel his resentment or to repel his attack. Fol. 163.

(j. *Chīn Ṣūfī's death.*)

This year Shaibāq Khān took Khwārizm after besieging Chīn Ṣūfī in it for ten months. There had been a mass of fighting during the siege ; many were the bold deeds done by the Khwārizmī braves ; nothing soever did they leave undone. Again and again their shooting was such that their arrows pierced shield and cuirass, sometimes the two cuirasses.³ For ten months they sustained that siege without hope in any quarter. A few bare braves then lost heart, entered into talk with the Aūzbeg and were in the act of letting him up into the fort when Chīn Ṣūfī had the news and went to the spot. Just as he was beating and forcing down the Aūzbegs, his own page, in a discharge of arrows, shot him from behind. No man was left to fight ; the Aūzbegs took Khwārizm. God's mercy on

¹ These are the *aīmāqs* from which the fighting-men went east with Bābur in 910 AH. and the families in which Nāṣir shepherded across Hindu-kush (f. 154 and f. 155).

² *yamānīk bīla bārāi* ; cf. f. 156b and n. for its opposite, *yakhshī bārāilār* ; and T.R. p. 196.

³ One might be of mail, the other of wadded cloth.

Chīn Šūfī, who never for one moment ceased to stake his life for his chief!¹

Shaibāq Khān entrusted Khwārizm to Kūpuk (*sic*) Bī and went back to Samarkand.

(*k. Death of Sultān Husain Mīrzā.*)

Sl. Husain Mīrzā having led his army out against Shaibāq Khān as far as Bābā Ilāhī² went to God's mercy, in the month of Zū'l-hijja (Zū'l-hijja 11th 911 AH.—May 5th 1506 AD.).

SULTĀN HUSAIN MĪRZĀ AND HIS COURT.³

(*a. His birth and descent.*)

He was born in Herī (Harāt), in (Muḥarram) 842 (AH.—June–July, 1438 AD.) in Shāhrukh Mīrzā's time⁴ and was the son of Manṣūr Mīrzā, son of Bāi-qarā Mīrzā, son of 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā, son of Amīr Tīmūr. Manṣūr Mīrzā and Bāi-qarā Mīrzā never reigned.

His mother was Fīrūza Begīm, a (great-)grandchild (*nabīra*) of Tīmūr Beg; through her he became a grandchild of Mīrān-shāh also.⁵ He was of high birth on both sides, a ruler of royal

¹ Chīn Šūfī was Husain Bāi-qarā's man (T.R. p. 204). His arduous defence, faithfulness and abandonment recall the instance of a later time when also a long road stretched between the man and the help that failed him. But the Mīrzā was old, his military strength was, admittedly, sapped by ease; hence his elder Khartum, his neglect of his Gordon.

It should be noted that no mention of the page's fatal arrow is made by the *Shaibānī-nāma* (Vambéry, p. 442), or by the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* (p. 204). Chīn Šūfī's death was on the 21st of the Second Rabī 911 AH. (Aug. 22nd 1505 AD.).

² This may be the "Baboulei" of the French Map of 1904, on the Herī-Kushk-Marīchāq road.

³ Elph. MS. f. 127; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 132 and 217 f. 111b; Mems. p. 175; *Mems.* i, 364.

That Bābur should have given his laborious account of the Court of Herī seems due both to loyalty to a great Tīmūrid, seated in Tīmūr Beg's place (f. 122b), and to his own interest, as a man-of-letters and connoisseur in excellence, in that ruler's galaxy of talent. His account here opening is not complete; its sources are various; they include the *Ḥabībū's-siyār* and what he will have learned himself in Herī or from members of the Bāi-qarā family, knowledgeable women some of them, who were with him in Hindūstān. The narrow scope of my notes shews that they attempt no more than to indicate further sources of information and to clear up a few obscurities.

⁴ Tīmūr's youngest son, d. 850 AH. (1446 AD.). Cf. H.S. iii, 203. The use in this sentence of Amīr and not Beg as Tīmūr's title is, up to this point, unique in the *Bābur-nāma*; it may be a scribe's error.

⁵ Fīrūza's paternal line of descent was as follows:—Fīrūza, daughter of Sl. Husain Qānjū, son of Akā Begīm, daughter of Tīmūr. Her maternal descent was:—Fīrūza, d. of Qūtlūq-sultān Begīm, d. of Mīrān-shāh, s. of Tīmūr. She died Muh. 24th 874 AH. (July 25th 1489 AD. H.S. iii, 218).

lineage.¹ Of the marriage (of Maṣṣūr with Fīrūza) were born two sons and two daughters, namely, Bāi-qarā Mīrzā and Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, Ākā Begīm and another daughter, Badka Begīm whom Aḥmad Khān took.²

Bāi-qarā Mīrzā was older than Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā; he was his younger brother's retainer but used not to be present as head of the Court;³ except in Court, he used to share his brother's divan (*tūshak*). He was given Balkh by his younger brother and was its Commandant for several years. He had three sons, Sl. Muḥammad Mīrzā, Sl. Wais Mīrzā and Sl. Iskandar Mīrzā.⁴

Ākā Begīm was older than the Mīrzā; she was taken by Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā,⁵ a grandson (*nabīra*) of Mīrān-shāh; by him she had a son (Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā), known as Kīchīk (Little) Mīrzā, who at first was in his maternal-uncle's service, but later on gave up soldiering to occupy himself with letters. He is said to have become very learned and also to have taste in verse.⁶ Here is a Persian quatrain of his:—

For long on a life of devotion I plumed me,
As one of the band of the abstinent ranged me;
Where when Love came was devotion? denial?
By the mercy of God it is I have proved me!

¹ "No-one in the world had such parentage", writes Khwānd-amīr, after detailing the Tīmūrid, Chingīz-khānid, and other noted strains meeting in Ḥusain Bāi-qarā (H.S. iii, 204).

² The Elph. MS. gives the Begīm no name; Bādī'u'l-jamāl is correct (H.S. iii, 242). The curious "Badka" needs explanation. It seems probable that Bābur left one of his blanks for later filling-in; the natural run of his sentence here is "Ākā B. and Bādī'u'l-jamāl B." and not the detail, which follows in its due place, about the marriage with Aḥmad.

³ *Diwān bāshīdā ḥāzīr būlmās aīdī*; the sense of which may be that Bāi-qarā did not sit where the premier retainer usually sat at the head of the Court (Pers. trs. *sar-i-āwān*).

⁴ From this Wais and Sl. Ḥusain M.'s daughter Sulṭānīm (f. 167b) were descended the Bāi-qarā Mīrzās who gave Akbar so much trouble.

⁵ As this man might be mistaken for Bābur's uncle (*q.v.*) of the same name, it may be well to set down his parentage. He was a s. of Mīrzā Sayyidī Aḥmad, s. of Mīrān-shāh, s. of Tīmūr (H.S. iii, 217, 241). I have not found mention elsewhere of "Aḥmad s. of Mīrān-shāh"; the *sayyidī* in his style points to a sayyida mother. He was Governor of Heri for a time, for Sl. H. M.; 'Alī-sher has notices of him and of his son, Kīchīk Mīrzā (*Journal Asiatique* xvii, 293, M. Belin's art. where may be seen notices of many other men mentioned by Bābur).

⁶ He collected and thus preserved 'Alī-sher's earlier poems (Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 294). Mu'īnu'd-dīn al Zamjī writes respectfully of his being worthy of credence in some Egyptian matters with which he became acquainted in twice passing through that country on his Pilgrimage (*Journal Asiatique* xvi, 476, de Meynard's article).

This quatrain recalls one by the Mullā.¹ Kichik Mirzā made the circuit of the *ka'ba* towards the end of his life.

Badka (Badī'u'l-jamāl) Begīm also was older² than the Mirzā. She was given in the guerilla times to Aḥmad Khān of Hājī-tarkhān;³ by him she had two sons (Sl. Maḥmūd Khān and Bahādur Sl.) who went to Herī and were in the Mirzā's service.

(b.) *His appearance and habits.*

He was slant-eyed (*qīyik gūzlūq*) and lion-bodied, being slender from the waist downwards. Even when old and white-bearded, he wore silken garments of fine red and green. He used to wear either the black lambskin cap (*būrk*) or the *qālpāq*,⁴ but on a Feast-day would sometimes set up a little three-fold turban, wound broad and badly,⁵ stick a heron's plume in it and so go to Prayers.

Fol. 164b. When he first took Herī, he thought of reciting the names of the Twelve Imāms in the *khuṭba*,⁶ but 'Alī-sher Beg and others prevented it; thereafter all his important acts were done in accordance with orthodox law. He could not perform the Prayers on account of a trouble in the joints,⁷ and he kept no fasts. He was lively and pleasant, rather immoderate in temper, and with words that matched his temper. He shewed great respect for the law in several weighty matters; he once surrendered to the Avengers of blood a son of his own who had

¹ Kichik M.'s quatrain is a mere plagiarism of Jāmi's which I am indebted to my husband for locating as in the *Dirwān* I.O. MS. 47 p. 47; B.M. Add. 7774 p. 290; and Add. 7775 p. 285. M. Belin interprets the verse as an expression of the rise of the average good man to mystical rapture, not as his lapse from abstinence to indulgence (l.c. xvii, 296 and notes).

² Elph. MS. *younger* but Hai. MS. *older* in which it is supported by the "also" (*ham*) of the sentence.

³ modern Astrakhan. Ḥusain's guerilla wars were those through which he cut his way to the throne of Herī. This begīm was married first to Pir Budāgh Sl. (H.S. iii, 242); he dying, she was married by Aḥmad, presumably by levirate custom (*yīnkālīk*; f. 12 and note). By Aḥmad she had a daughter, styled Khān-zāda Begīm whose affairs find comment on f. 206 and H.S. iii, 359. (The details of this note negative a suggestion of mine that Badka was the Rābī'a-sultān of f. 168 (Gul-badan, App. s. *nn.*)).

⁴ This is a felt wide-awake worn by travellers in hot weather (Shaw); the Turkmān bonnet (Erskine).

⁵ Hai. MS. *yamānlīk*, badly, but Elph. MS. *namāyan*, whence Erskine's *showy*.

⁶ This was a proof that he was then a Shī'a (Erskine).

⁷ The word *perform* may be excused in speaking of Musalmān prayers because they involve ceremonial bendings and prostrations (Erskine).

killed a man, and had him taken to the Judgment-gate (*Dārū'l-qazā*). He was abstinent for six or seven years after he took the throne ; later on he degraded himself to drink. During the almost 40 years of his rule¹ in Khurāsān, there may not have been one single day on which he did not drink after the Mid-day prayer ; earlier than that however he did not drink. What happened with his sons, the soldiers and the town was that every-one pursued vice and pleasure to excess. Bold and daring he was ! Time and again he got to work with his own sword, getting his own hand in wherever he arrayed to fight ; no man of Tīmūr Beg's line has been known to match him in the slashing of swords. He had a leaning to poetry and even put a *diwān* together, writing in Turkī with Ḥusainī for his pen-name.² Many couplets in his *diwān* are not bad ; it is however in one and the same metre throughout. Great ruler though he was, both by the length of his reign (*yāsh*) and the breadth of his dominions, he yet, like little people kept fighting-rams, flew pigeons and fought cocks. Fol. 165.

(c.) *His wars and encounters.*³

He swam the Gurgān-water⁴ in his guerilla days and gave a party of Aūzbegs a good beating.

Again,—with 60 men he fell on 3000 under Pay-master Muḥammad 'Alī, sent ahead by Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā, and gave them a downright good beating (868 AH.). This was his one fine, out-standing feat-of-arms.⁵

Again,—he fought and beat Sl. Maḥmūd Mīrzā near Astarābād (865 AH.).⁶

¹ If Bābur's 40 include rule in Herī only, it over-states, since Yādgār died in 875 AH. and Ḥusain in 911 AH. while the intervening 36 years include the 5 or 6 temperate ones. If the 40 count from 861 AH. when Ḥusain began to rule in Merv, it under-states. It is a round number, apparently.

² Relying on the Ilminsky text, Dr. Rieu was led into the mistake of writing that Bābur gave Ḥusain the wrong pen-name, *i.e.* Ḥusain, and not Ḥusainī (Turk. Cat. p. 256).

³ Daulat-shāh says that as he is not able to enumerate all Ḥusain's feats-of-arms, he, Turkmān fashion, offers a gift of Nine. The Nine differ from those of Bābur's list in some dates ; they are also records of victory only (Browne, p. 521 ; *Not. et Extr.* iv, 262, de Saçy's article).

⁴ Wolves'-water, a river and its town at the s.e. corner of the Caspian, the ancient boundary between Russia and Persia. The name varies a good deal in MSS.

⁵ The battle was at Tarshīz ; Abū-sa'īd was ruling in Herī ; Daulat-shāh (*l.c.* p. 523) gives 90 and 10,000 as the numbers of the opposed forces !

⁶ f. 266 and note ; Ḥ.S. iii, 209 ; Daulat-shāh p. 523.

Again,—this also in Astarābād, he fought and beat Sa'idliq Sa'id, son of Ḥusain *Turkmān* (873 AH.?).

Again,—after taking the throne (of Herī in Ramzān 873 AH.—March 1469 AD.), he fought and beat Yādgār-i-muḥammad Mīrzā at Chanārān (874 AH.).¹

Again,—coming swiftly² from the Murgh-āb bridge-head (Sar-i-pul), he fell suddenly on Yādgār-i-muḥammad Mīrzā where he lay drunk in the Ravens'-garden (875 AH.), a victory which kept all Khurāsān quiet.

Again,—he fought and beat Sl. Maḥmūd Mīrzā at Chikmān-sarāi in the neighbourhood of Andikhūd and Shibrghān (876 AH.).³

Again,—he fell suddenly on Abā-bikr Mīrzā⁴ after that Mīrzā, joined by the Black-sheep Turkmāns, had come out of 'Irāq, beaten Aulūgh Beg Mīrzā (*Kābulī*) in Takāna and Khimār (var. Ḥimār), taken Kābul, left it because of turmoil in 'Irāq, crossed Khaibar, gone on to Khūsh-āb and Multān, on again to Siwī,⁵ thence to Karmān and, unable to stay there, had entered the Khurāsān country (884 AH.).⁶

Again,—he defeated his son Badi'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā at Pul-i-chirāgh (902 AH.); he also defeated his sons Abū'l-muḥṣin Mīrzā and Kūpuk (Round-shouldered) Mīrzā at Ḥalwā-spring (904 AH.).⁷

Again,—he went to Qūndūz, laid siege to it, could not take it, and retired; he laid siege to Ḥiṣār, could not take that either, and rose from before it (901 AH.); he went into Zū'n-nūn's country, was given Bast by its *dārogha*, did no more and retired (903 AH.).⁸ A ruler so great and so brave, after resolving royally on these three movements, just retired with nothing done!

¹ The loser was the last Shāhrukhī ruler. Chanārān (variants) is near Abiward, Anwārī's birth-place (H.S. iii, 218; D.S. p. 527).

² f. 85. D.S. (p. 540) and the H.S. (iii, 223) dwell on Ḥusain's speed through three continuous days and nights.

³ f. 26; H.S. iii, 227; D.S. p. 532.

⁴ Abū-sa'id's son by a Badakhshī Begīm (T.R. p. 108); he became his father's Governor in Badakhshān and married Ḥusain *Bār-qarā's* daughter Begīm Sultān at a date after 873 AH. (f. 168 and note; H.S. iii, 196, 229, 234-37; D.S. p. 535).

⁵ f. 152.

⁶ Abā-bikr was defeated and put to death at the end of Rajab 884 AH.—Oct. 1479 AD. after flight before Ḥusain across the Gurgān-water (H.S. iii, 196 and 237 but D.S. p. 539, Šafar 885 AH.).

⁷ f. 41, Pul-i-chirāgh; for Ḥalwā-spring, H.S. iii, 283 and Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 443.

⁸ f. 33 (p. 57) and f. 57b.

Again,—he fought his son Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrẓā in the Nīshīn-meadow, who had come there with Zū'n-nūn's son, Shāh Beg (903 AH.). In that affair were these curious coincidences :—The Mīrẓā's force will have been small, most of his men being in Astarābād ; on the very day of the fight, one force rejoined him coming back from Astarābād, and Sl. Mas'ūd Mīrẓā arrived to join Sl. Husain Mīrẓā after letting Bāi-sunghar Mīrẓā take Hīṣār, and Haidar Mīrẓā came back from reconnoitring Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrẓā at Sabzawār.

(d.) *His countries.*

His country was Khurāsān, with Balkh to the east, Bistām and Damghān to the west, Khwārizm to the north, Qandahār and Sīstān to the south. When he once had in his hands such a town as Herī, his only affair, by day and by night, was with comfort and pleasure ; nor was there a man of his either who did not take his ease. It followed of course that, as he no longer tolerated the hardships and fatigue of conquest and soldiering, his retainers and his territories dwindled instead of increasing right down to the time of his departure.¹

(e.) *His children.*

Fourteen sons and eleven daughters were born to him.² The oldest of all his children was Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrẓā ; (Bega Begīm) a daughter of Sl. Sanjar of Marv, was his mother.

Shāh-i-gharīb Mīrẓā was another ; he had a stoop (*būkūrī*) ; though ill to the eye, he was of good character ; though weak of body, he was powerful of pen. He even put a *dīwān* together, using Gharbatī (Lowliness) for his pen-name and writing both Turkī and Persian verse. Here is a couplet of his :—

Seeing a peri-face as I passed, I became its fool ;
Not knowing what was its name, where was its home.

For a time he was his father's Governor in Herī. He died before his father, leaving no child.

¹ In commenting thus Bābur will have had in mind what he best knew, Husain's futile movements at Qūndūz and Hīṣār.

² *qālīb aīdī* ; if *qālīb* be taken as Turkī, survived or remained, it would not apply here since many of Husain's children predeceased him ; Ar. *qālīb* would suit, meaning *begotten, born*.

There are discrepancies between Bābur's details here and Khwānd-amīr's scattered through the *Ḥabībū's-siyār*, concerning Husain's family.

Muzaffar-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā was another; he was his father's favourite son, but though this favourite, had neither accomplishments nor character. It was Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā's over-fondness for this son that led his other sons into rebellion. The mother of Shāh-i-gharīb Mīrẓā and of Muzaffar-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā was Khadija Begīm, a former mistress of Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrẓā by whom she had had a daughter also, known as Āq (Fair) Begīm.

Fol. 166b.

Two other sons were Abū'l-ḥusain Mīrẓā and Kūpuk (var. Kīpik) Mīrẓā whose name was Muḥammad Muḥsin Mīrẓā; their mother was Latīf-sultān Āghācha.

Abū-turāb Mīrẓā was another. From his early years he had an excellent reputation. When the news of his father's increased illness¹ reached him and other news of other kinds also, he fled with his younger brother Muḥammad-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā into 'Irāq,² and there abandoned soldiering to lead the darwish-life; nothing further has been heard about him.³ His son Sohrāb was in my service when I took Ḥiṣār after having beaten the sultāns led by Ḥamza Sl. and Mahdī Sl. (917 AH.—1511 AD.); he was blind of one eye and of wretchedly bad aspect; his disposition matched even his ill-looks. Owing to some immoderate act (*bī i'tidāl*), he could not stay with me, so went off. For some of his immoderate doings, Nijm Ṣānī put him to death near Astarābād.⁴

Muḥammad-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā was another. He must have been shut up (*bund*) with Shāh Ismā'il at some place in 'Irāq and have become his disciple;⁵ he became a rank heretic later on and became this although his father and brethren, older and younger, were all orthodox. He died in Astarābād, still on the same wrong road, still with the same absurd opinions. A good deal is heard about his courage and heroism, but no deed of his

¹ *bī ḥuzūrī*, which may mean aversion due to Khadija Begīm's malevolence.

² Some of the several goings into 'Irāq chronicled by Bābur point to refuge taken with Timūrids, descendants of Khalīl and 'Umar, sons of Mirān-shāh (Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, Table of the Timūrids).

³ He died before his father (H.S. iii, 327).

⁴ He will have been killed previous to Ramẓān 3rd 918 AH. (Nov. 12th, 1512 AD.), the date of the battle of Ghaj-dawān when Nijm Ṣānī died.

⁵ The *bund* here may not imply that both were in prison, but that they were bound in close company, allowing Ismā'il, a fervent Shī'a, to convert the Mīrẓā.

stands out as worthy of record. He may have been poetically-disposed ; here is a couplet of his :—

Grimed with dust, from tracking what game dost thou come?
Steeped in sweat, from whose heart of flame dost thou come?

Farīdūn-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā was another. He drew a very strong bow and shot a first-rate shaft ; people say his cross-bow (*kamān-i-guroha*) may have been 40 *bātmāns*.¹ He himself was very brave but he had no luck in war ; he was beaten wherever he fought. He and his younger brother Ibn-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā were defeated at Rabāṭ-i-dūzd (var. Dudūr) by Tīmūr Sl. and 'Ubaid Sl. leading Shaibāq Khān's advance (913 AH. ?), but he had done good things there.² In Dāmghān he and Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrẓā³ fell into the hands of Shaibāq Khān who, killing neither, let both go free. Farīdūn-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā went later on to Qalāt⁴ where Shāh Muḥammad *Diwāna* had made himself fast ; there when the Aūzbegs took the place, he was captured and killed. The three sons last-named were by Mīnglī Bībī Āghācha, Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā's Aūzbeg mistress.

Ḥaidar Mīrẓā was another ; his mother Payānda-sultān Begīm was a daughter of Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrẓā. Ḥaidar Mīrẓā was Governor of Balkh and Mashhad for some time during his father's life. For him his father, when besieging Ḥiṣār (901 AH.) took (Bega Begīm) a daughter of Sl. Maḥmūd Mīrẓā and Khān-zāda Begīm ; this done, he rose from before Ḥiṣār. One daughter only⁵ was born of that marriage ; she was named Shād (Joy)

¹ The *bātmān* is a Turkish weight of 13lbs (Meninsky) or 15lbs (Wollaston). The weight seems likely to refer to the strength demanded for rounding the bow (*kamān guroha-sī*) i.e. as much strength as to lift 40 *bātmāns*. Rounding or bending might stand for stringing or drawing. The meaning can hardly be one of the weight of the cross-bow itself. Erskine read *gürdehiş* for *guroha* (p. 180) and translated by "double-stringed bow" ; de Courteille (i, 373) read *guirdehiş*, *arrondi*, *circulaire*, in this following Ilminsky who may have followed Erskine. The Elph. and Hai. MSS. and the first W.-i-B. (I.O. 215 f. 113b) have *kamān guroha-sī* ; the second W.-i-B. omits the passage, in the MSS. I have seen.

² *yakhshilār bārīb tūr* ; lit. good things went (on) ; cf. f. 156b and note.

³ Badī'u'z-zamān's son, drowned at Chausa in 946AH. (1539AD.) A.N. (H. Beveridge, i, 344).

⁴ Qalāt-i-nādīrī, in Khurāsān, the birth-place of Nādir Shāh (T.R. p. 209).

⁵ *bīr gīna gīz*, which on f. 86b can fitly be read to mean daughterling, *Töchterchen*, *fillette*, but here and i.a. f. 168, must have another meaning than diminutive and may be an equivalent of German *Stuck* and mean *one only*. Gul-badan gives an account of Shād's manly pursuits (H.N. f. 25b).

Begīm and given to 'Ādil Sl.¹ when she came to Kābul later on. Ḥaidar Mīrzā departed from the world in his father's life-time.

Fol. 167b. Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Mīrzā was another. He had Qandahār given to him and, as was fitting with this, a daughter of Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā, (Bega Begīm), was set aside for him; when she went to Herī (902 AH.), Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā made a splendid feast, setting up a great *chār-ṭāq* for it.² Though Qandahār was given to Muḥ. Ma'ṣūm Mīrzā, he had neither power nor influence there, since, if black were done, or if white were done, the act was Shāh Beg *Arghūn's*. On this account the Mīrzā left Qandahār and went into Khurāsān. He died before his father.

Farrukh-i-ḥusain Mīrzā was another. Brief life was granted to him; he bade farewell to the world before his younger brother Ibrāhīm-i-ḥusain Mīrzā.

¹ He was the son of Mahdī Sl. (f. 320b) and the father of 'Āqil Sl. *Aūzbeg* (A.N. index s.n.). Several matters suggest that these men were of the Shabān Aūzbegs who intermarried with Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā's* family and some of whom went to Bābur in Hindūstān. One such matter is that Kābul was the refuge of dispossessed Iarātīs, after the Aūzbeg conquest; that there 'Āqil married Shād *Bāi-qarā* and that 'Ādil went on to Bābur. Moreover Khāfi Khān makes a statement which (if correct) would allow 'Ādil's father Mahdī to be a grandson of Ḥusain *Bāi-qarā*; this statement is that when Bābur defeated the Aūzbegs in 916 AH. (1510 AD.), he freed from their captivity two sons (descendants) of his paternal uncle, named Mahdī Sl. and Sultān Mīrzā. [Leaving the authenticity of the statement aside for a moment, it will be observed that this incident is of the same date and place as another well-vouched for, namely that Bābur then and there killed Mahdī Sl. *Aūzbeg* and Ḥamza Sl. *Aūzbeg* after defeating them.] What makes in favour of Khāfi Khān's correctness is, not only that Bābur's foe Mahdī is not known to have had a son 'Ādil, but also that his "Sultān Mīrzā" is not a style so certainly suiting Ḥamza as it does a Shabān sultān, one whose father was a Shabān sultān, and whose mother was a Mīrzā's daughter. Moreover this point of identification is pressed by the correctness, according to oriental statement of relationship, of Khāfi Khān's "paternal uncle" (of Bābur), because this precisely suits Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā with whose family these Shabān sultāns allied themselves. On the other hand it must be said that Khāfi Khān's statement is not in the English text of the *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*, the book on which he mostly relies at this period, nor is it in my husband's MS. [a copy from the Rampūr Codex]; and to this must be added the verbal objection that a modicum of rhetoric allows a death to be described both in Turkī and Persian, as a release from the captivity of a sinner's own acts (f. 160). Still Khāfi Khān may be right; his statement may yet be found in some other MS. of the T.R. or some different source; it is one a scribe copying the T.R. might be led to omit by reason of its coincidences. The killing and the release may both be right; 'Ādil's Mahdī may be the Shabān sultān inference makes him seem. This little *crux* presses home the need of much attention to the *lacunae* in the *Bābur-nāma*, since in them are lost some exits and some entries of Bābur's *dramatis personae*, pertinently, mention of the death of Mahdī with Ḥamza in 916 AH., and possibly also that of 'Ādil's Mahdī's release.

² A *chār-ṭāq* may be a large tent rising into four domes or having four porches.

Ibrāhīm-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā was another. They say his disposition was not bad ; he died before his father from bibbing and bibbing Herī wines.

Ibn-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā and Muḥ. Qāsim Mīrẓā were others ;¹ their story will follow. Pāpā Āghācha was the mother of the five sons last-named.

Of all the Mīrẓā's daughters, Sulṭānīm Begīm was the oldest. She had no brother or sister of the full-blood. Her mother, known as Chūlī (Desert) Begīm, was a daughter of one of the Azāq begs. Sulṭānīm Begīm had great acquaintance with words (*soz bīlūr aīdī*) ; she was never at fault for a word. Her father sent her out² to Sl. Wais Mīrẓā, the middle son of his own elder brother Bāī-qarā Mīrẓā ; she had a son and a daughter by him ; the daughter was sent out to Aīsān-qulī Sl. younger brother of Yīlī-bārs of the Shabān sulṭāns ;³ the son is that Muḥammad Sl. Mīrẓā to whom I have given the Qanauj district.⁴ At that same date Sulṭānīm Begīm, when on her way with her grandson Fol. 168. from Kābul to Hindūstān, went to God's mercy at Nīl-āb. Her various people turned back, taking her bones ; her grandson came on.⁵

Four daughters were by Payānda-sulṭān Begīm. Āq Begīm, the oldest, was sent out to Muḥammad Qāsim *Arlāt*, a grandson of Bega Begīm the younger sister of Bābur Mīrẓā ;⁶ there was one daughter (*bīr gīna qīz*), known as Qarā-gūz (Dark-eyed) Begīm, whom Nāsir Mīrẓā (*Mīrān-shāhī*) took. Kīchīk Begīm was the second ; for her Sl. Mas'ūd Mīrẓā had great desire but, try as he would, Payānda-sulṭān Begīm, having an aversion for him, would not give her to him ;⁷ she sent Kīchīk Begīm out afterwards

¹ H.S. iii, 367.

² This phrase, common but not always selected, suggests unwillingness to leave the paternal roof.

³ Abū'l-ghāzī's *History of the Mughals*, Désmaisons, p. 207.

⁴ The appointment was made in 933 AH. (1527 AD.) and seems to have been held still in 934 AH. (ff. 329, 332).

⁵ This grandson may have been a child travelling with his father's household, perhaps Aūlūgh Mīrẓā, the oldest son of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrẓā (A. A. Blochmann, p. 461). No mention is made here of Sulṭānīm Begīm's marriage with 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mīrẓā (f. 175).

⁶ Abū'l-qāsim Bābur *Shāhrukhi* presumably.

⁷ The time may have been 902 AH. when Mas'ūd took his sister Bega Begīm to Herī for her marriage with Ḥaidar (H.S. iii, 260).

to Mullā Khwāja of the line of Sayyid Ātā.¹ Her third and fourth daughters Bega Begīm and Āghā Begīm, she gave to Bābur Mirzā and Murād Mirzā the sons of her younger sister, Rābī'a-sultān Begīm.²

Two other daughters of the Mirzā were by Mingli Bibi Āghācha. They gave the elder one, Bairam-sultān Begīm to Sayyid 'Abdu'l-lāh, one of the sayyids of Andikhūd who was a grandson of Bāi-qarā Mirzā³ through a daughter. A son of this marriage, Sayyid Barka⁴ was in my service when Samarkand was taken (917 AH.—1511 AD.); he went to Aūrganj later and there made claim to rule; the Red-heads⁵ killed him in Astarābād. Mingli Bibi's second daughter was Fāṭima-sultān Begīm; her they gave to Yādgar(-i-farrukh) Mirzā of Timūr Beg's line.⁶

Three daughters⁷ were by Pāpā Āghācha. Of these the oldest, Sultān-nizhād Begīm was made to go out to Iskandar Mirzā, youngest son of Sl. Ḥusain Mirzā's elder brother Bāi-qarā Mirzā. The second, (Sa'adat-bakht, known as) Begīm Sultān, was given to Sl. Mas'ūd Mirzā after his blinding.⁸ By Sl. Mas'ūd

¹ Khwāja Aḥmad Yāsawī, known as Khwāja Ātā, founder of the Yāsawī religious order.

² Not finding mention of a daughter of Abū-sa'id named Rābī'a-sultān, I think she may be the daughter styled Āq Begīm who is No. 3 in Gul-badan's guest-list for the Mystic Feast.

³ This man I take to be Ḥusain's grandfather and not brother, both because 'Abdu'l-lāh was of Ḥusain's and his brother's generation, and also because of the absence here of Bābur's usual defining words "elder brother" (of Sl. Ḥusain Mirzā). In this I have to differ from Dr. Rieu (Pers. Cat. p. 152).

⁴ So-named after his ancestor Sayyid Barka whose body was exhumed from Andikhūd for reburial in Samarkand, by Timūr's wish and there laid in such a position that Timūr's body was at its feet (*Zafar-nāma* ii, 719; H.S. iii, 82). (For the above interesting detail I am indebted to my husband.)

⁵ *Qizil-bāsh*, Persians wearing red badges or caps to distinguish them as Persians.

⁶ Yādgar-i-farrukh *Mirān-shāhī* (H.S. iii, 327). He may have been one of those *Mirān-shāhīs* of 'Irāq from whom came Ākā's and Sultānīm's husbands, Aḥmad and 'Abdu'l-bāqī (ff. 164, 175b).

⁷ This should be four (f. 169b). The H.S. (iii, 327) also names three only when giving Pāpā Āghācha's daughters (the omission linking it with the B.N.), but elsewhere (iii, 229) it gives an account of a fourth girl's marriage; this fourth is needed to make up the total of 11 daughters. Bābur's and Khwānd-amīr's details of Pāpā Āghācha's quartette are defective; the following may be a more correct list:—(1) Begīm Sultān (a frequent title), married to Abā-bikr *Mirān-shāhī* (who died 884 AH.) and seeming too old to be the one [No. 3] who married Mas'ūd (H.S. iii, 229); (2) Sultān-nizhād, married to Iskandar *Bāi-qarā*; (3) Sa'adat-bakht also known as Begīm Sultān, married to Mas'ūd *Mirān-shāhī* (H.S. iii, 327); (4) Manauwar-sultān, married to a son of Aūlūgh Beg *Kābulī* (H.S. iii, 327).

⁸ This "after" seems to contradict the statement (f. 58) that Mas'ūd was made to kneel as a son-in-law (*kūyādlik-kā yākhūndūrub*) at a date previous to his blinding, but the seeming contradiction may be explained by considering the following details;

Mīrzā she had one daughter and one son. The daughter was brought up by Apāq Begīm of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's *haram*; from Herī she came to Kābul and was there given to Sayyid Mīrzā Apāq.¹ (Sa'adat-bakht) Begīm Sulṭān after the Aūzbeg killed her husband, set out for the *ka'ba* with her son.² News has just come (*circa* 934 AH.) that they have been heard of as in Makka and that the boy is becoming a bit of a great personage.³ Pāpā Āghācha's third daughter was given to a sayyid of Andikhūd, generally known as Sayyid Mīrzā.⁴

Another of the Mīrzā's daughters, 'Āyisha-sulṭān Begīm was by a mistress, Zubaida Āghācha the grand-daughter of Ḥusain-i-Shaikh Tīmūr.⁵ They gave her to Qāsim Sl. of the Shabān sulṭāns; she had by him a son, named Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sl. who came to serve me in Hindūstān, was in the Holy Battle with Rānā Sangā, and was given Badāyūn.⁶ When Qāsim Sl. died, (his widow) 'Āyisha-sulṭān Begīm was taken by Būrān Sl. one of his relations,⁷ by whom she had a son, named 'Abdu'l-lāh Sl. now serving me and though young, not doing badly.

(*f. His wives and concubines.*)

The wife he first took was Bega Sulṭān Begīm, a daughter of Sl. Sanjar of Marv. She was the mother of Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā. She was very cross-tempered and made the Mīrzā endure

he left Herī hastily (*f.* 58), went to Khusrau Shāh and was blinded by him,—all in the last two months of 903 AH. (1498 AD.), after the kneeling on Zū'l-qa'da 3rd, (June 23rd) in the Ravens'-garden. Here what Bābur says is that the Begīm was given (*ḍerīd*) after the blinding, the inference allowed being that though Mas'ūd had kneeled before the blinding, she had remained in her father's house till his return after the blinding.

¹ The first W.-i-B. writes "Apāq Begīm" (I.O. 215 f. 136) which would allow Sayyid Mīrzā to be a kinsman of Apāq Begīm, wife of Ḥusain *Bāi-garā*.

² This brief summary conveys the impression that the Begīm went on her pilgrimage shortly after Mas'ūd's death (913 AH. ?), but may be wrong :—After Mas'ūd's murder, by one Bīmāsh Mīrzā, *dārogha* of Sarakhs, at Shaibāq Khān's order, she was married by Bīmāsh M. (H.S. iii, 278). How long after this she went to Makka is not said; it was about 934 AH. when Bābur heard of her as there.

³ This clause is in the Hai. MS. but not in the Elph. MS. (*f.* 131), or Kehr's (Ilminsky, p. 210), or in either Persian translation. The boy may have been 17 or 18.

⁴ This appears a mistake (*f.* 168 foot, and note on Pāpā's daughters).

⁵ *f.* 171b.

⁶ 933 AH.—1527 AD. (*f.* 329).

⁷ Presumably this was a *yīnkālīk* marriage; it differs from some of those chronicled and also from a levirate marriage in not being made with a childless wife. (Cf. index *s.n. yīnkālīk.*)

Fol. 169. much wretchedness, until driven at last to despair, he set himself free by divorcing her. What was he to do? Right was with him.¹

A bad wife in a good man's house
Makes this world already his hell.²

God preserve every Musalmān from this misfortune! Would that not a single cross or ill-tempered wife were left in the world!

Chūlī Begīm was another; she was a daughter of the Azāq begs and was the mother of Sulṭānīm Begīm.

Shahr-bānū Begīm was another; she was Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrẓā's daughter, taken after Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā took the throne (873 AH.). When the Mīrẓā's other ladies got out of their litters and mounted horses, at the battle of Chikmān, Shahr-bānū Begīm, putting her trust in her younger brother (Sl. Maḥmūd M.), did not leave her litter, did not mount a horse;³ people told the Mīrẓā of this, so he divorced her and took her younger sister Payānda-sulṭān Begīm. When the Aūzbegs took Khurāsān (913 AH.), Payānda-sulṭān Begīm went into 'Irāq, and in 'Irāq she died in great misery.

Khadija Begīm was another.⁴ She had been a mistress of Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrẓā and by him had had a daughter, Āq Begīm; after his defeat (873 AH.—1468 AD.) she betook herself to Herī where Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā took her, made her a great favourite, and promoted her to the rank of Begīm. Very dominant indeed she became later on; she it was wrought Muḥ. Mūmin Mīrẓā's death;⁵ she in chief it was caused Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā's sons to rebel against him. She took herself for a sensible woman but was a silly chatterer, may also have been a heretic. Of her were born Shāh-i-gharīb Mīrẓā and Muẓaffār-i-ḥusain Mīrẓā.

Fol. 169b.

Apāq Begīm was another;⁶ she had no children; that Pāpā Āghācha the Mīrẓā made such a favourite of was her foster-sister.

¹ Khwānd-amīr says that Bega Begīm was jealous, died of grief at her divorce, and was buried in a College, of her own erection, in 893 AH. (1488 AD. H.S. iii, 245).

² *Gulistan* Cap. II, Story 31 (Platts, p. 114).

³ *i.e.* did not get ready to ride off if her husband were beaten by her brother (f. 11 and note to Habiba).

⁴ Khadija Begī Aghā (H.S. ii, 230 and iii, 327); she would be promoted probably after Shāh-i-gharīb's birth.

⁵ He was a son of Badī'u'z-zamān.

⁶ It is singular that this honoured woman's parentage is not mentioned; if it be right on f. 168b (*q.v.* with note) to read Sayyid Mīrẓā of Apāq Begīm, she may be a sayyida of Andikhūd.

Being childless, Apāq Begīm brought up as her own the children of Pāpā Āghācha. She nursed the Mīrzā admirably when he was ill; none of his other wives could nurse as she did. The year I came into Hindūstān (932 AH.)¹ she came into Kābul from Herī and I shewed her all the honour and respect I could. While I was besieging Chandīrī (934 AH.) news came that in Kābul she had fulfilled God's will.²

One of the Mīrzā's mistresses was Latīf-sultān Āghācha of the Chār-shamba people³; she became the mother of Abū'l-muhsin Mīrzā and Kūpuk (or Kīpik) Mīrzā (*i.e.* Muḥammad Muhsin).

Another mistress was Mīnglī Bibī Āghācha,⁴ an Aūz beg and one of Shahr-bānū Begīm's various people. She became the mother of Abū-turāb Mīrzā, Muḥammad-i-ḥusain Mīrzā, Farīdūn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā and of two daughters.

Pāpā Āghācha, the foster-sister of Apāq Begīm was another mistress. The Mīrzā saw her, looked on her with favour, took her and, as has been mentioned, she became the mother of five of his sons and four of his daughters.⁵

Begī Sultān Āghācha was another mistress; she had no child. There were also many concubines and mistresses held in little respect; those enumerated were the respected wives and mistresses of Sī. Ḥusain Mīrzā.

Strange indeed it is that of the 14 sons born to a ruler so great as Sī. Ḥusain Mīrzā, one governing too in such a town as Herī, three only were born in legal marriage.⁶ In him, in his sons, and in his tribes and hordes vice and debauchery were extremely prevalent. What shews this point precisely is that of the many sons born to his dynasty not a sign or trace was left

Fol. 170.

¹ As Bābur left Kābul on Ṣafar 1st (Nov. 17th 1525 AD.), the Begīm must have arrived in Muḥarram 932 AH. (Oct. 18th to Nov. 17th).

² f. 333. As Chandīrī was besieged in Rabi' u'l-ākhar 934 AH. this passage shews that, as a minimum estimate, what remains of Bābur's composed narrative (*i.e.* down to f. 216b) was written after that date (Jan. 1528).

³ *Chār-shambālār*. Mention of another inhabitant of this place with the odd name, Wednesday (Chār-shamba), is made on f. 42b.

⁴ Mole-marked Lady; most MSS. style her Bī but H.S. iii, 327, writes Bibī; it varies also by calling her a Turk. She was a purchased slave of Shahr-bānū's and was given to the Mīrzā by Shahr-bānū at the time of her own marriage with him.

⁵ As noted already, f. 168b enumerates three only.

⁶ The three were almost certainly Badi' u'z-zamān, Ḥaidar, son of a Timūrid mother, and Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain, born after his mother had been legally married.

in seven or eight years, excepting only Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā.¹

(*g. His amīrs.*)

There was Muḥammad Barandūq *Barlās*, descending from Chākū *Barlās* as follows,—Muḥammad Barandūq, son of 'Alī, son of Barandūq, son of Jahān-shāh, son of Chākū *Barlās*.² He had been a beg of Bābur Mīrzā's presence ; later on Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā favoured him, gave him Kābul conjointly with Jahāngīr *Barlās*, and made him Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā's guardian. After the death of Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā, Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā formed designs against the two *Barlās* ; they got to know this, kept tight hold of him, made the tribes and hordes march,³ moved as for Qūndūz, and when up on Hindū-kush, courteously compelled Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā to start back for Kābul, they themselves going on to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā in Khurāsān, who, in his turn, shewed them great favour. Muḥammad Barandūq was remarkably intelligent, a very leaderlike man indeed ! He was extravagantly fond of a hawk ; so much so, they say, that if a hawk of his had strayed or had died, he would ask, taking the names of his sons on his lips, what it would have mattered if such or such a son had died or had broken his neck, rather than this or that bird had died or had strayed.

Muzaffar *Barlās* was another.⁴ He had been with the Mīrzā in the guerilla fighting and, for some cause unknown, had received extreme favour. In such honour was he in those guerilla days that the compact was for the Mīrzā to take four *dāng* (sixths) of any country conquered, and for him to take two *dāng*. A strange compact indeed ! How could it be right to make even a faithful servant a co-partner in rule ? Not even a younger

¹ Seven sons predeceased him :—Farrukh, Shāh-i-gharīb, Muḥ. Ma'šūm, Iḥaidar, Ibrāhim-i-ḥusain, Muḥ. Ḥusain and Abū-turāb. So too five daughters :—Aq, Bega, Āghā, Kichik and Fāṭima-sultān Begīms. So too four wives :—Bega-sultān and Chūli Begīms, Zubaida and Laṭīf-sultān Āghāchas (H.S. iii, 327).

² Chākū, a *Barlās*, as was Timūr, was one of Timūr's noted men.

At this point some hand not the scribe's has entered on the margin of the Hāi. MS. the descendants of Muḥ. Barandūq down into Akbar's reign :—Muḥ. Faridūn, bin Muḥ. Qulī Khān, bin Mīrzā 'Alī, bin Muḥ. Barandūq *Barlās*. Of these Faridūn and Muḥ. Qulī are amīrs of the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* list (Blochmann, pp. 341, 342 ; H.S. iii, 233).

³ Enforced marches of Mughūls and other nomads are mentioned also on f. 154b and f. 155.

⁴ H.S. iii, 228, 233, 235.

brother or a son obtains such a pact ; how then should a beg ?¹ When the Mīrzā had possession of the throne, he repented the compact, but his repentance was of no avail ; that muddy-minded mannikin, favoured so much already, made growing assumption to rule. The Mīrzā acted without judgment ; people say Muẓaffar *Barlās* was poisoned in the end.² God knows the truth !

'Alī-sher *Nawā'i* was another, the Mīrzā's friend rather than his beg. They had been learners together in childhood and even then are said to have been close friends. It is not known for what offence Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā drove 'Alī-sher Beg from Herī ; he then went to Samarkand where he was protected and supported by Aḥmad Ḥājī Beg during the several years of his stay.³ He was noted for refinement of manner ; people fancied this due to the pride of high fortune but it may not have been so, it may have been innate, since it was equally noticeable also in Samarkand.⁴ 'Alī-sher Beg had no match. For as long as verse has been written in the Turkī tongue, no-one has written so much or so well as he. He wrote six books of poems (*maṣnawī*), five of them answering to the Quintet (*Khamsah*),⁵ the sixth, entitled the *Lisānu't-tair* (Tongue of the birds), was in the same metre as the *Manṭiqu't-tair* (Speech of the birds).⁶ He put together four *dīwāns* (collections) of odes, bearing the names, *Curiosities of Childhood*, *Marvels of Youth*, *Wonders of Manhood* and *Advantages of Age*.⁷ There are good quatrains of his also. Some others of his compositions rank below those mentioned ; amongst them is a collection of his letters, imitating that of Maulānā 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī* and aiming at gathering together every letter on any topic he had ever written to any person. He wrote also the *Mizānu'l-a'ūsān* (Measure of measures) on prosody ; it is very worthless ; he has made mistake in it about the metres of four out of twenty-four

Fol. 171.

¹ *beg kishī*, beg-person.

² Khwānd-amīr says he died a natural death (H.S. iii, 235).

³ f. 21. For a fuller account of Nawā'i, *J. Asiatique* xvii, 175, M. Belin's article.

⁴ i.e. when he was poor and a beg's dependant. He went back to Herī at Sl. Husain M.'s request in 873 AH.

⁵ Nizāmī's (Rieu's Pers. Cat. s.n.).

⁶ Farīdu'd-dīn-'aṭṭār's (Rieu l.c. and Ency. Br.).

⁷ *Gharā'ibul-sighar*, *Nawādiru'sh-shahāb*, *Badā'i'u'l-wasaf* and *Fawā'idu'l-kibr*.

Fol. 171b.

quatrains, while about other measures he has made mistake such as any-one who has given attention to prosody, will understand. He put a Persian *dīwān* together also, Fānī (transitory) being his pen-name for Persian verse.¹ Some couplets in it are not bad but for the most part it is flat and poor. In music also he composed good things (*nīma*), some excellent airs and preludes (*nakhsh u peshrau*). No such patron and protector of men of parts and accomplishments is known, nor has one such been heard of as ever appearing. It was through his instruction and support that Master (Ustād) Qul-i-muḥammad the lutanist, Shaikhī the flautist, and Ḥusain the lutanist, famous performers all, rose to eminence and renown. It was through his effort and supervision that Master Bih-zād and Shāh Muẓaffar became so distinguished in painting. Few are heard of as having helped to lay the good foundation for future excellence he helped to lay. He had neither son nor daughter, wife or family; he let the world pass by, alone and unencumbered. At first he was Keeper of the Seal; in middle-life he became a beg and for a time was Commandant in Astarābād; later on he forsook soldiering. He took nothing from the Mīrẓā, on the contrary, he each year offered considerable gifts. When the Mīrẓā was returning from the Astarābād campaign, 'Alī-sher Beg went out to give him meeting; they saw one another but before 'Alī-sher Beg should have risen to leave, his condition became such that he could not rise. He was lifted up and carried away; the doctors could not tell what was wrong; he went to God's mercy next day,² one of his own couplets suiting his case:—

I was felled by a stroke out of their ken and mine;
What, in such evils, can doctors avail?

Aḥmad the son of Tawakkal *Barlās* was another;³ for a time he held Qandahār.

Walī Beg was another; he was of Ḥājī Saifu'd-dīn Beg's line,⁴ and had been one of the Mīrẓā's father's (Manṣūr's) great

¹ Every Persian poet has a *takhalluṣ* (pen-name) which he introduces into the last couplet of each ode (Erskine).

² The death occurred in the First Jumāda 906 AH. (Dec. 1500 AD.).

³ Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad bin Tawakkal *Barlās* (H.S. iii, 229).

⁴ This may be that uncle of Tīmūr who made the Ḥaj (T.R. p. 48, quoting the *Zafar-nāma*).

begs.¹ Short life was granted to him after the Mīrzā took the throne (973 AH.); he died directly afterwards. He was orthodox and made the Prayers, was rough (*turk*) and sincere.

Ḥusain of Shaikh Tīmūr was another; he had been favoured and raised to the rank of beg² by Bābur Mīrzā.

Nuyān Beg was another. He was a Sayyid of Tirmīz on his father's side; on his mother's he was related both to Sl. Abū-sa'id Mīrzā and to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā.³ Sl. Abū-sa'id Mīrzā had favoured him; he was the beg honoured in Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā's presence and he met with very great favour when he went to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's. He was a bragging, easy-going, wine-bibbing, jolly person. Through being in his father's service,⁴ Ḥasan of Ya'qūb used to be called also Nuyān's Ḥasan.

Jahāngīr *Barlās* was another.⁵ For a time he shared the Kābul command with Muḥammad Barandūq *Barlās*, later on Fol. 172. went to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's presence and received very great favour. His movements and poses (*ḥarakāt u sakanāt*) were graceful and charming; he was also a man of pleasant temper. As he knew the rules of hunting and hawking, in those matters the Mīrzā gave him chief charge. He was a favourite of Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā and, bearing that Mīrzā's friendliness in mind, used to praise him.

Mīrzā Aḥmad of 'Alī *Farsī Barlās* was another. Though he wrote no verse, he knew what was poetry. He was a gay-hearted, elegant person, one by himself.

'Abdu'l-khalīq Beg was another. Fīrūz Shāh, Shāhrukh Mīrzā's

¹ Some MSS. omit the word "father" here but to read it obviates the difficulty of calling Walī a great beg of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā although he died when that mīrzā took the throne (973 AH.) and although no leading place is allotted to him in Bābur's list of Herī begs. Here as in other parts of Bābur's account of Herī, the texts vary much whether Turkī or Persian, e.g. the Elph. MS. appears to call Walī a blockhead (*dūnkūz dūr*), the Hai. MS. writing *n: kūz dūr* (?).

² He had been Bābur *Shāhrukhī's yasāwāl* (Court-attendant), had fought against Ḥusain for Yādgār-i-muḥammad and had given a daughter to Ḥusain (H.S. iii, 206, 228, 230-32; D.S. in *Not. et Ex. de Saçy* p. 265).

³ f. 296b.

⁴ *Sic*, Elph. MS. and both Pers. trss. but the Hai. MS. omits "father". To read it, however, suits the circumstance that Ḥasan of Ya'qūb was not with Ḥusain and in Harāt but was connected with Maḥmūd *Mirānshāhī* and Tirmīz (f. 24). Nuyān is not a personal name but is a title; it implies good-birth; all uses of it I have seen are for members of the religious family of Tirmīz.

⁵ He was the son of Ibrāhīm *Barlās* and a Badakhshī begīm (T.R. p. 108).

greatly favoured beg, was his grandfather ;¹ hence people called him Firūz Shāh's 'Abdu'l-khalīq. He held Khwārizm for a time.

Ibrāhīm *Dūldāi* was another. He had good knowledge of revenue matters and the conduct of public business ; his work was that of a second Muḥ. Barandūq.

Fol. 172b. *Zū'n-nūn Arghūn* was another.² He was a brave man, using his sword well in Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā's presence and later on getting his hand into the work whatever the fight. As to his courage there was no question at all, but he was a bit of a fool. After he left our (*Mīrān-shāhi*) Mīrzās to go to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, the Mīrzā gave him Ghūr and the Nikdīrīs. He did excellent work in those parts with 70 to 80 men, with so few beating masses and masses of Hazāras and Nikdīrīs ; he had not his match for keeping those tribes in order. After a while Zamīn-dāwar was given to him. His son Shāh-i-shujā' *Arghūn* used to move about with him and even in childhood used to chop away with his sword. The Mīrzā favoured Shāh-i-shujā' and, somewhat against *Zū'n-nūn* Beg's wishes, joined him with his father in the government of Qandahār. Later on this father and son made dissension between that father and that son,³ and stirred up much commotion. After I had overcome Khusrau Shāh and parted his retainers from him, and after I had taken Kābul from *Zū'n-nūn Arghūn*'s son Muqīm, *Zū'n-nūn* Beg and Khusrau Shāh both went, in their helplessness, to see Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā. *Zū'n-nūn Arghūn* grew greater after the Mīrzā's death when they gave him the districts of the Herī Koh-dāman, such as Aūba (Ubeh) and Chachcharān.⁴ He was made Lord of Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā's Gate⁵ and Muḥammad Barandūq *Barlās* Lord of Muḥaffar-i-ḥusain Mīrzā's, when the two Mīrzās became

¹ He will have been therefore a collateral of Daulat-shāh whose relation to Firūz-shāh is thus expressed by Nawā'i :—*Mīr Daulat-shāh Firūz-shāh Beg-nīng 'amm-zāda-sī Amīr 'Alā' u' d-daula Isfārayīnī-nīng aūghūlī dur*, i. e. Mīr Daulat-shāh was the son of Firūz-shāh Beg's paternal uncle's son, Amīr 'Alā' u' d-daula Isfārayīnī. Thus, Firūz-shāh and Isfārayīnī were first cousins ; Daulat-shāh and 'Abdu'l-khalīq's father were second cousins ; while Daulat-shāh and Firūz-shāh were first cousins, once removed (Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 534 ; Browne's D.S. English preface p. 14 and its reference to the Pers. preface).

² *Turkhān-nāma*, E. & D.'s *History of India* i, 303 ; H.S. iii, 227.

³ f. 41 and note.

⁴ Both places are in the valley of the Herī-rūd.

⁵ Badī'u'z-zamān married a daughter of *Zū'n-nūn* ; she died in 911 AH. (E. & D. i, 305 ; H.S. iii, 324).

joint-rulers in Herī. Brave though he was, he was a little crazed and shallow-pated; if he had not been so, would he have accepted flattery as he did? would he have made himself so contemptible? Here are the details of the matter :—While he was so dominant and so trusted in Herī, a few shaikhs and mullās went to him and said, “The Spheres are holding commerce with us; you are to be styled *Hisabru’l-lāh* (Lion of God); you will overcome the Aūzbeg.” Fully accepting this flattery, he put his *fūṭa* (bathing-cloth) round his neck ¹ and gave thanks. Then, after Shaibāq Khān, coming against the Mīrzās, had beaten them one by one near Bādghīs, Zū’n-nūn *Arghūn* met him face to face near Qarā-rabāṭ and, relying on that promise, stood up against him with 100 to 150 men. A mass of Aūzbegs came up, overcame them and hustled them off; he himself was taken and put to death.² He was orthodox and no neglecter of the Prayers, indeed made the extra ones. He was mad for chess; he played it according to his own fancy and, if others play with one hand, he played with both.³ Avarice and stinginess ruled in his character. Fol. 173.

Darwīsh-i-‘alī Beg was another,⁴ the younger full-brother of ‘Alī-sher Beg. He had the Balkh Command for a time and there did good beg-like things, but he was a muddle-head and somewhat wanting in merit. He was dismissed from the Balkh Command because his muddle-headedness had hampered the Mīrzā in his first campaign against Qūndūz and Ḥiṣār. He came to my presence when I went to Qūndūz in 916 AH. (1510 AD.), brutalized and stupefied, far from capable begship and out-side peaceful home-life. Such favour as he had had, he appears to have had for ‘Alī-sher Beg’s sake.

Mughūl Beg was another. He was Governor of Herī for a time, later on was given Astarābād, and from there fled to Ya’qūb Beg in ‘Irāq. He was of amorous disposition⁵ and an incessant dicer.

¹ This indicates, both amongst Musalmāns and Hindūs, obedience and submission. Several instances occur in Macculloch’s *Bengali Household Stories*.

² T.R. p. 205.

³ This is an idiom expressive of great keenness (Erskine).

⁴ H.S. iii, 250, *kitābdār*, librarian; so too Hai. MS. f. 174b.

⁵ *mutaiyam* (f. 7b and note). Mīr Mughūl Beg was put to death for treachery in ‘Irāq (H.S. iii, 227, 248).

Sayyid Badr (Full-moon) was another, a very strong man, Fol. 173^b. graceful in his movements and singularly well-mannered. He danced wonderfully well, doing one dance quite unique and seeming to be his own invention.¹ His whole service was with the Mīrzā whose comrade he was in wine and social pleasure.

Islīm *Barlās* was another, a plain (*turk*) person who understood hawking well and did some things to perfection. Drawing a bow of 30 to 40 *bātmāns* strength,² he would make his shaft pass right through the target (*takhta*). In the gallop from the head of the *qabaq-maidān*,³ he would loosen his bow, string it again, and then hit the gourd (*qabaq*). He would tie his string-grip (*sih-gīr*) to the one end of a string from 1 to 1½ yards long, fasten the other end to a tree, let his shaft fly, and shoot through the string-grip while it revolved.⁴ Many such remarkable feats he did. He served the Mīrzā continuously and was at every social gathering.

Sl. Junaid *Barlās* was another;⁵ in his latter days he went to Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā's presence.⁶ He is the father of the Sl. Junaid *Barlās* on whom at the present time⁷ the joint-government of Jaunpūr depends.

Shaikh Abū-sa'īd Khān *Dar-miyān* (In-between) was another. It is not known whether he got the name of *Dar-miyān* because he took a horse to the Mīrzā *in the middle* of a fight, or whether because he put himself *in between* the Mīrzā and some-one designing on his life.⁸

¹ Bābur speaks as an eye-witness (f. 187^b). For a single combat of Sayyid Badr, H.S. iii, 233.

² f. 157 and note to *bātmān*.

³ A level field in which a gourd (*qabaq*) is set on a pole for an archer's mark to be hit in passing at the gallop (f. 186 and note).

⁴ Or possibly during the gallop the archer turned in the saddle and shot backwards.

⁵ Junaid was the father of Nizāmu'd-dīn 'Alī, Bābur's Khalifa (Vice-gerent). That Khalifa was of a religious house on his mother's side may be inferred from his being styled both Sayyid and Khwāja neither of which titles could have come from his Turkī father. His mother may have been a sayyida of one of the religious families of Marghinān (f. 18 and note), since Khalifa's son Muḥibb-i-'alī writes his father's name "Nizāmu'd-dīn 'Alī *Marghīlānī*" (*Marghinānī*) in the Preface of his *Book on Sport* (Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 485).

⁶ This northward migration would take the family into touch with Bābur's in Samarkand and Farghāna.

⁷ He was left in charge of Jaunpūr in Rabi' I, 933 A.H. (Jan. 1527 A.D.) but exchanged for Chunār in Ramzān 935 A.H. (June 1529 A.D.); so that for the writing of this part of the *Bābur-nāma* we have the major and minor limits of Jan. 1527 and June 1529.

⁸ H.S. iii, 227.

Bih-būd Beg was another. He had served in the pages' circle (*chuhra jīrgasī*) during the guerilla times and gave such satisfaction by his service that the Mīrẓā did him the favour of putting his name on the stamp (*taṅghā*) and the coin (*sikka*).¹ Fol. 174.

Shaikhīm Beg was another.² People used to call him Shaikhīm *Suhailī* because Suhailī was his pen-name. He wrote all sorts of verse, bringing in terrifying words and mental images. Here is a couplet of his :—

In the anguish of my nights, the whirlpool of my sighs engulphs the firmament ;
Like a dragon, the torrent of my tears swallows the quarters of the world.

Well-known it is that when he once recited that couplet in Maulānā 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī*'s presence, the honoured Mullā asked him whether he was reciting verse or frightening people. He put a *dīwān* together ; *maṣṇawīs* of his are also in existence.

Muḥammad-i-walī Beg was another, the son of the Walī Beg already mentioned. Latterly he became one of the Mīrẓā's great begs but, great beg though he was, he never neglected his service and used to recline (*yāstānīb*) day and night in the Gate. Through doing this, his free meals and open table were always set just outside the Gate. Quite certainly a man who was so constantly in waiting, *would* receive the favour he received ! It is an evil noticeable today that effort must be made before the man, dubbed Beg because he has five or six of the bald and blind at his back, can be got into the Gate at all ! Where this sort of service is, it must be to their own misfortune ! Muḥammad-i-walī Beg's public table and free meals were good ; he kept his servants neat and well-dressed and with his own hands gave ample portion to the poor and destitute, but he was foul-mouthed and evil-spoken. He and also Darwish-i-'alī the librarian were in my service when I took Samarkand in 917 AH. (Oct. 1511 AD.) ; he was palsied then ; his talk lacked salt ; his former claim to favour was gone. His assiduous waiting appears to have been the cause of his promotion. Fol. 174b.

¹ See Appendix H, *On the counter-mark Bih-būd on coins.*

² Nizāmu'd-dīn Amir Shaikh Aḥmadu's-suhailī was surnamed Suhailī through a *fāl* (augury) taken by his spiritual guide, Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusain *Gāsur-gāhī* ; it was he induced Ḥusain *Kāshifī* to produce his *Anwār-i-suhailī* (Lights of Canopus) (f. 125 and note ; Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 756 ; and for a couplet of his, H.S. iii, 242 l. 10).

Bābā 'Alī the Lord of the Gate was another. First, 'Alī-sher Beg showed him favour; next, because of his courage, the Mīrzā took him into service, made him Lord of the Gate, and promoted him to be a beg. One of his sons is serving me now (*circa* 934 A.H.), that Yūnas of 'Alī who is a beg, a confidant, and of my household. He will often be mentioned.¹

Badru'd-dīn (Full-moon of the Faith) was another. He had been in the service of Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā's Chief Justice Mīrak 'Abdu'r-raḥīm; it is said he was very nimble and sure-footed, a man who could leap over seven horses at once. He and Bābā 'Alī were close companions.

Ḥasan of 'Alī *Jalā'ir* was another. His original name was Ḥusain *Jalā'ir* but he came to be called 'Alī's Ḥasan.² His father 'Alī *Jalā'ir* must have been favoured and made a beg by Bābur Mīrzā; no man was greater later on when Yādgār-i-muḥammad M. took Herī. Ḥasan-i-'alī was Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's *Qūsh-begī*.³ He made Ṭufailī (Uninvited-guest) his pen-name; wrote good odes and was the Master of this art in his day. He wrote odes on my name when he came to my presence at the time I took Samarkand in 917 A.H. (1511 A.D.). Impudent (*bī bāk*) and prodigal he was, a keeper of catamites, a constant dicer and draught-player.

Fol. 175.

Khwāja 'Abdu'l-lāh *Marwārīd* (Pearl)⁴ was another; he was at first Chief Justice but later on became one of the Mīrzā's favourite household-begs. He was full of accomplishments; on the dulcimer he had no equal, and he invented the shake on the dulcimer; he wrote in several scripts, most beautifully in the *ta'liq*; he composed admirable letters, wrote good verse, with Bayānī for his pen-name, and was a pleasant companion. Compared with his other accomplishments, his verse ranks low, but he knew what was poetry. Vicious and shameless, he became

¹ Index s. n.

² Did the change complete an analogy between 'Alī *Jalā'ir* and his (perhaps) elder son with 'Alī Khalīfa and his elder son Ḥasan?

³ The *Qūsh-begī* is, in Central Asia, a high official who acts for an absent ruler (Shaw); he does not appear to be the Falconer, for whom Bābur's name is *Qūshchī* (f. 15 n.).

⁴ He received this sobriquet because when he returned from an embassy to the Persian Gulf, he brought, from Bahrein, to his Timūrid master a gift of royal pearls (Sām Mīrzā). For an account of *Marwārīd* see Rieu's *Pers. Cat.* p. 1094 and (*re* portrait) p. 787.

the captive of a sinful disease through his vicious excesses, outlived his hands and feet, tasted the agonies of varied torture for several years, and departed from the world under that affliction.¹

Sayyid Muḥammad-i-aūrūs was another ; he was the son of that Aūrūs (Russian?) *Arghūn* who, when Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrẓā took the throne, was his beg in chief authority. At that time there were excellent archer-braves ; one of the most distinguished was Sayyid Muḥammad-i-aūrūs. His bow strong, his shaft long, he must have been a bold (*yūrak*) shot and a good one. He was Commandant in Andikhūd for some time.

Mīr (Qaṃbar-i-) 'alī the Master of the Horse was another. He it was who, by sending a man to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrẓā, brought him down on the defenceless Yādgār-i-muḥammad Mīrẓā.

Sayyid Ḥasan *Aūghlāqchī* was another, a son of Sayyid *Aūghlāqchī* and a younger brother of Sayyid Yūsuf Beg.² He was the father of a capable and accomplished son, named Mīrẓā Farrukh. He had come to my presence before I took Samar-
Fol. 175b.

kand in 917 AH. (1511 AD.). Though he had written little verse, he wrote fairly ; he understood the astrolabe and astronomy well, was excellent company, his talk good too, but he was rather a bad drinker (*bad shrāb*). He died in the fight at Ghaj-dawān.³

Tīngri-bīrdī the storekeeper (*sāmānchī*) was another ; he was

a plain (*turk*), bold, sword-slashing brave. As has been said, he charged out of the Gate of Balkh on Khusrau Shāh's great retainer Nazār Bahādur and overcame him (903 AH.).

There were a few Turkmān braves also who were received with great favour when they came to the Mīrẓā's presence. One of the first to come was 'Alī Khān *Bāyandar*.⁴ Asad Beg and Taham-tan (Strong-bodied) Beg were others, an elder and younger brother these ; Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrẓā took Taham-tan Beg's daughter and by her had Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrẓā. Mīr 'Umar Beg was another ; later on he was in Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrẓā's service ; he was a brave, plain, excellent person. His

¹ Sām Mīrẓā specifies this affliction as *ābla-i-farang*, thus making what may be one of the earliest Oriental references to *morbis gallicus* [as de Saçy here translates the name], the foreign or European pox, the "French disease of Shakespeare" (H.B.).

² Index s.n. Yūsuf.

³ Ramẓān 3rd 918 AH.—Nov. 12th 1512.

⁴ i.e. of the White-sheep Turkmāns.

son, Abū'l-fath by name, came from 'Irāq to my presence, a very soft, unsteady and feeble person ; such a son from such a father !

Fol. 176.

Of those who came into Khurāsān after Shāh Ismā'il took 'Irāq and Azarbāijān (*circa* 906 AH.—1500 AD.), one was 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mirzā of Timūr Beg's line. He was a Mirān-shāhī¹ whose ancestors will have gone long before into those parts, put thought of sovereignty out of their heads, served those ruling there, and from them have received favour. That Timūr 'Uṣmān who was the great, trusted beg of Ya'qūb Beg (*White-sheep Turkmān*) and who had once even thought of sending against Khurāsān the mass of men he had gathered to himself, must have been this 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mirzā's paternal-uncle. Sl. Ḥusain Mirzā took 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mirzā at once into favour, making him a son-in-law by giving him Sultānīm Begīm, the mother of Muḥammad Sl. Mirzā.² Another late-comer was Murād Beg *Bāyandari*.

(*h. His Chief Justices (ṣadūr).*)

One was Mīr Sar-i-barahna (Bare-head)³ ; he was from a village in Andijān and appears to have made claim to be a sayyid (*mutasayyid*). He was a very agreeable companion, pleasant of temper and speech. His were the judgment and rulings that carried weight amongst men of letters and poets of Khurāsān. He wasted his time by composing, in imitation of the story of Amīr Ḥamza,⁴ a work which is one long, far-fetched lie, opposed to sense and nature.

Kamālū'd-dīn Ḥusain *Gāzur-gāhī*⁵ was another. Though not a Ṣūfī, he was mystical.⁶ Such mystics as he will have

¹ His paternal line was, 'Abdu'l-bāqī, son of 'Uṣmān, son of Sayyidī Aḥmad, son of Mirān-shāh. His mother's people were begs of the White-sheep (H.S. iii, 290).

² Sultānīm had married Wais (f. 157) not later than 895 or 896 AH. (H.S. iii, 253) ; she married 'Abdu'l-bāqī in 908 AH. (1502-3 AD.).

³ Sayyid Shamsu'd-dīn Muḥammad, Mīr Sayyid *Sar-i-barahna* owed his sobriquet of Bare-head to love-sick wanderings of his youth (H.S. iii, 328). The H.S. it is clear, recognizes him as a sayyid.

⁴ Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 760 ; it is immensely long and "filled with tales that shock all probability" (Erschine).

⁵ f. 94 and note. Sl. Ḥusain M. made him curator of Anṣārī's shrine, an officer represented, presumably, by Col. Yate's "Mīr of Gāzur-gāh", and he became Chief Justice in 904 AH. (1498-99 AD.). See H.S. iii, 330 and 340 ; JASB 1887, art. *On the city of Harāt* (C. E. Yate) p. 85.

⁶ *mutasawwif*, perhaps meaning not a professed Ṣūfī.

gathered in 'Alī-sher Beg's presence and there have gone into their raptures and ecstasies. Kamālu'd-dīn will have been better-born than most of them ; his promotion will have been due to his good birth, since he had no other merit to speak of.¹ A production of his exists, under the name *Majālisu'l-'ushshāq* (Assemblies of lovers), the authorship of which he ascribes (in its preface) to Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā.² It is mostly a lie and a tasteless lie. He has written such irreverent things in it that some of them cast doubt upon his orthodoxy ; for example, he represents the Prophets,—Peace be on them,—and Saints as subject to earthly passion, and gives to each a minion and a mistress. Another and singularly absurd thing is that, although in his preface he says, "This is Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's own written word and literary composition," he, never-the-less, enters, in the body of the book, "All by the sub-signed author", at the head of odes and verses well-known to be his own. It was his flattery gave Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn* the title Lion of God.

Fol. 176b.

(i. *His wazīrs.*)

One was Majdu'd-dīn Muḥammad, son of Khwāja Pīr Aḥmad of Khwāf, the one man (*yak-qalam*) of Shāhrukh Mīrzā's Finance-office.³ In Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's Finance-office there was not at first proper order or method ; waste and extravagance resulted ; the peasant did not prosper, and the soldier was not satisfied. Once while Majdu'd-dīn Muḥammad was still *par-wānchī*⁴ and styled Mirak (Little Mīr), it became a matter of importance to the Mīrzā to have some money ; when he asked the Finance-officials for it, they said none had been collected and that there was none. Majdu'd-dīn Muḥammad must have heard this and have smiled, for the Mīrzā asked him why he smiled ; privacy was made and he told Mīrzā what was in his mind.

¹ He was of high birth on both sides, of religious houses of Ṭabas and Nishāpūr (D.S. pp. 161, 163).

² In agreement with its preface, Dr. Rieu entered the book as written by Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā ; in his Addenda, however, he quotes Bābur as the authority for its being by Gāzur-gāhī ; Khwānd-amīr's authority can be added to Bābur's (H.S. 340 ; Pers. Cat. pp. 351, 1085).

³ *Dīwān*. The Wazīr is a sort of Minister of Finance ; the Dīwān is the office of revenue receipts and issues (Erskine).

⁴ a secretary who writes out royal orders (H.S. iii, 244).

Fol. 177.

Said he, "If the honoured Mirzā will pledge himself to strengthen my hands by not opposing my orders, it shall so be before long that the country shall prosper, the peasant be content, the soldier well-off, and the Treasury full." The Mirzā for his part gave the pledge desired, put Majdu'd-dīn Muḥammad in authority throughout Khurāsān, and entrusted all public business to him. He in his turn by using all possible diligence and effort, before long had made soldier and peasant grateful and content, filled the Treasury to abundance, and made the districts habitable and cultivated. He did all this however in face of opposition from the begs and men high in place, all being led by 'Alī-sher Beg, all out of temper with what Majdu'd-dīn Muḥammad had effected. By their effort and evil suggestion he was arrested and dismissed.¹ In succession to him Nizāmu'l-mulk of Khwāf was made Dīwān but in a short time they got him arrested also, and him they got put to death.² They then brought Khwāja Afzal out of 'Irāq and made him Dīwān; he had just been made a beg when I came to Kābul (910 AH.), and he also impressed the Seal in Dīwān.

Khwāja 'Atā³ was another; although, unlike those already mentioned, he was not in high office or Finance-minister (*dīwān*), nothing was settled without his concurrence the whole Khurāsānāt over. He was a pious, praying, upright (*mutadaiyin*) person; he must have been diligent in business also.

¹ Count von Noer's words about a cognate reform of later date suit this man's work, it also was "a bar to the defraudment of the Crown, a stumbling-block in the path of avaricious chiefs" (*Emperor Akbar* trs. i, 11). The opposition made by 'Alī-sher to reform so clearly to Ḥusain's gain and to Ḥusain's begs' loss, stirs the question, "What was the source of his own income?" Up to 873 AH. he was for some years the dependant of Aḥmad Ḥāji Beg; he took nothing from the Mirzā, but gave to him; he must have spent much in benefactions. The question may have presented itself to M. Belin for he observes, "'Alī-sher qui sans doute, à son retour de l'exil, recouvra l'héritage de ses pères, et depuis occupa de hautes positions dans le gouvernement de son pays, avait acquis une grande fortune" (*J. Asiatique* xvii, 227). While not contradicting M. Belin's view that vested property such as can be described as "paternal inheritance", may have passed from father to son, even in those days of fugitive prosperity and changing appointments, one cannot but infer, from Nawā'i's opposition to Majdu'd-dīn, that he, like the rest, took a partial view of the "rights" of the cultivator.

² This was in 903 AH. after some 20 years of service (H.S. iii, 231; Ethé I.O. Cat. p. 252).

³ Amīr Jamālū'd-dīn 'Atā'u'l-lāh, known also as Jamālū'd-dīn Ḥusain, wrote a *History of Muhammad* (H.S. iii, 345; Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 147 & (a correction) p. 1081).

(j. Others of the Court.)

Those enumerated were Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's retainers and followers.¹ His was a wonderful Age; in it Khurāsān, and Herī above all, was full of learned and matchless men. Whatever the work a man took up, he aimed and aspired at bringing that work to perfection. One such man was Maulānā 'Abdu'r-rahmān *Jāmī*, who was unrivalled in his day for esoteric and exoteric knowledge. Famous indeed are his poems! The Mullā's dignity it is out of my power to describe; it has occurred to me merely to mention his honoured name and one atom of his excellence, as a benediction and good omen for this part of my humble book. Fol. 177b.

Shaikhu'l-islām Saifu'd-dīn Aḥmad was another. He was of the line of that Mullā Sa'du'd-dīn (Mas'ūd) *Taftazānī*² whose descendants from his time downwards have given the Shaikhu'l-islām to Khurāsān. He was a very learned man, admirably versed in the Arabian sciences³ and the Traditions, most God-fearing and orthodox. Himself a Shafī'⁴, he was tolerant of all the sects. People say he never once in 70 years omitted the Congregational Prayer. He was martyred when Shāh Ismā'īl took Herī (916 AH.); there now remains no man of his honoured line.⁵

Maulānā Shaikh Ḥusain was another; he is mentioned here, although his first appearance and his promotion were under Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā, because he was living still under Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā. Being well-versed in the sciences of philosophy, logic and rhetoric, he was able to find much meaning in a few words and to bring it out opportunely in conversation. Being very intimate and influential with Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā, he took part in all momentous affairs of the Mīrzā's dominions; there was Fol. 178.

¹ Amongst noticeable omissions from Bābur's list of Herī celebrities are Mir Khwānd Shāh ("Mirkhond"), his grandson Khwānd-amīr, Ḥusain *Kashifī* and Muīnu'd-dīn al Zamjī, author of a *History of Harāt* which was finished in 897 AH.

² Sa'du'd-dīn Mas'ūd, son of 'Umar, was a native of Taft in Yazd, whence his cognomen (Bahār-i-'ajam); he died in 792 AH.—1390 AD. (H.S. iii, 59, 343; T.R. p. 236; Rieu's Pers. Cat. pp. 352, 453).

³ These are those connected with grammar and rhetoric (Erskine).

⁴ This is one of the four principal sects of Muḥammadanism (Erskine).

⁵ T.R. p. 235, for Shāh Ismā'īl's murders in Herī.

no better *muhtasib*¹; this will have been why he was so much trusted. Because he had been an intimate of that Mīrzā, the incomparable man was treated with insult in Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's time.

Mullā-zāda Mullā 'Uṣmān was another. He was a native of Chirkh, in the Luhūgur *tūmān* of the *tūmān* of Kābul² and was called the Born Mullā (*Mullā-zāda*) because in Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā's time he used to give lessons when 14 years old. He went to Herī on his way from Samarkand to make the circuit of the *ka'ba*, was there stopped, and made to remain by Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā. He was very learned, the most so of his time. People say he was nearing the rank of Ijtihād³ but he did not reach it. It is said of him that he once asked, "How should a person forget a thing heard?" A strong memory he must have had!

Mīr Jamālu'd-dīn the Traditionalist⁴ was another. He had no equal in Khurāsān for knowledge of the Muḥammadan Traditions. He was advanced in years and is still alive (934 to 937 A.H.).

Mīr Murtāz was another. He was well-versed in the sciences of philosophy and metaphysics; he was called *murtāz* (ascetic) because he fasted a great deal. He was madly fond of chess, so much so that if he had met two players, he would hold one by the skirt while he played his game out with the other, as much as to say, "Don't go!"

Mīr Mas'ūd of Sherwān was another.⁵

Mīr 'Abdu'l-ghafūr of Lār was another. Disciple and pupil both of Maulānā 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī*, he had read aloud most of the Mullā's poems (*masnawī*) in his presence, and wrote a plain exposition of the *Nafahāt*.⁶ He had good acquaintance

¹ Superintendent of Police, who examines weights, measures and provisions, also prevents gambling, drinking and so on.

² f. 137.

³ The rank of Mujtahid, which is not bestowed by any individual or class of men but which is the result of slow and imperceptible opinion, finally prevailing and universally acknowledged, is one of the greatest peculiarities of the religion of Persia. The Mujtahid is supposed to be elevated above human fears and human enjoyments, and to have a certain degree of infallibility and inspiration. He is consulted with reverence and awe. There is not always a Mujtahid necessarily existing. See Kaempfer, *Aموenitates Exoticae* (Erskine).

⁴ *muḥaddaṯ*, one versed in the traditional sayings and actions of Muḥammad.

⁵ H.S. iii, 340.

⁶ B.M. Or. 218 (Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 350). The Commentary was made in order to explain the *Nafahāt* to Jāmī's son.

with the exoteric sciences, and in the esoteric ones also was very successful. He was a curiously casual and unceremonious person; no person styled Mullā by any-one soever was debarred from submitting a (Qorān) chapter to him for exposition; moreover whatever the place in which he heard there was a darwīsh, he had no rest till he had reached that darwīsh's presence. He was ill when I was in Khurāsān (912 AH.); I went to enquire for him where he lay in the Mullā's College,¹ after I had made the circuit of the Mullā's tomb. He died a few days later, of that same illness.

Mīr 'Atā'u'l-lāh of Mashhad was another.² He knew the Arabian sciences well and also wrote a Persian treatise on rhyme. That treatise is well-done but it has the defect that he brings into it, as his examples, couplets of his own and, assuming them to be correct, prefixes to each, "As must be observed in the following couplet by your slave" (*banda*). Several rivals of his find deserved comment in this treatise. He wrote another on the curiosities of verse, entitled *Badāi'u's-sanāi*; a very well-written treatise. He may have swerved from the Faith. Fol. 179.

Qāzī Ikhtiyār was another. He was an excellent Qāzī and wrote a treatise in Persian on Jurisprudence, an admirable treatise; he also, in order to give elucidation (*iqtibās*), made a collection of homonymous verses from the Qorān. He came with Muḥammad-i-yūsuf to see me at the time I met the Mīrzās on the Murgh-āb (912 AH.). Talk turning on the Bāburī script,³ he asked me about it, letter by letter; I wrote it out, letter by letter; he went through it, letter by letter, and having learned its plan, wrote something in it there and then.

Mīr Muḥammad-i-yūsuf was another; he was a pupil of the Shaikhū'l-islām⁴ and afterwards was advanced to his place. In some assemblies he, in others, Qāzī Ikhtiyār took the higher place. Towards the end of his life he was so infatuated

¹ He was buried by the Mullā's side.

² Amīr Burhānu'd-dīn 'Atā'u'l-lāh bin Maḥmūdu'l-ḥusainī was born in Nishāpūr but known as Mashhadī because he retired to that holy spot after becoming blind.

³ f. 144b and note. Qāzī Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn Ḥasan (H.S. iii, 347) appears to be the Khwāja Ikhtiyār of the *Ayin-i-akbari*, and, if so, will have taken professional interest in the script, since Abū'l-faḡl describes him as a distinguished calligrapher in SL Ḥusain M.'s presence (Blochmann, p. 101).

⁴ Saifu'd-dīn (Sword of the Faith) Aḥmad, presumably.

with soldiering and military command, that except of those two tasks, what could be learned from his conversation? what known from his pen? Though he failed in both, those two ambitions ended by giving to the winds his goods and his life, his house and his home. He may have been a Shī'a.

(*k. The Poets.*)

Fol. 179^b. The all-surpassing head of the poet-band was Maulānā 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmī*. Others were Shaikhīm Suhailī and Ḥasan of 'Alī *Jalā'ir*¹ whose names have been mentioned already as in the circle of the Mirzā's begs and household.

Āṣafī was another,² he taking Āṣafī for his pen-name because he was a wazīr's son. His verse does not want for grace or sentiment, but has no merit through passion and ecstasy. He himself made the claim, "I have never packed up (*būlmādi*) my odes to make the oasis (*wādi*) of a collection."³ This was affectation, his younger brothers and his intimates having collected his odes. He wrote little else but odes. He waited on me when I went into Khurāsān (912 AH.).

Banā'i was another; he was a native of Herī and took such a pen-name (Banā'i) on account of his father Ustād Muḥammad *Sabs-banā*.⁴ His odes have grace and ecstasy. One poem (*maṣnawī*) of his on the topic of fruits, is in the *mutaqārib* measure;⁵ it is random and not worked up. Another short poem is in the *khafīf* measure, so also is a longer one finished towards the end of his life. He will have known nothing of music in his young days and 'Alī-sher Beg seems to have taunted him about it, so one winter when the Mirzā, taking 'Alī-sher Beg

¹ A sister of his, Apāq Bega, the wife of 'Alī-sher's brother Darwish-i-'alī *kitābdār*, is included as a poet in the *Biography of Ladies* (Sprenger's Cat. p. 11). Amongst the 20 women named one is a wife of Shaibāq Khān, another a daughter of Hilālī.

² He was the son of Khw. Ni'amatu'l-lāh, one of Sl. Abū-sa'īd M.'s wazīrs. When dying *aet.* 70 (923 AH.), he made this chronogram on his own death, "With 70 steps he measured the road to eternity." The name Āṣaf, so frequent amongst wazīrs, is that of Solomon's wazīr.

³ Other interpretations are open; *wādi*, taken as *river*, might refer to the going on from one poem to another, the stream of verse; or it might be taken as *desert*, with disparagement of collections.

⁴ Maulānā Jamālud-dīn *Banā'i* was the son of a *sabs-banā*, an architect, a good builder.

⁵ Steingass's Dictionary allows convenient reference for examples of metres.

with him, went to winter in Merv, Banā'i stayed behind in Herī and so applied himself to study music that before the heats he had composed several works. These he played and sang, airs with variations, when the Mīrzā came back to Herī in the heats. Fol. 180. All amazed, 'Alī-sher Beg praised him. His musical compositions are perfect; one was an air known as *Nuh-rang* (Nine modulations), and having both the theme (*tūkānash*) and the variation (*yīla*) on the note called *rāst* (?). Banā'i was 'Alī-sher Beg's rival; it will have been on this account he was so much ill-treated. When at last he could bear it no longer, he went into Azarbāijān and 'Irāq to the presence of Ya'qūb Beg; he did not remain however in those parts after Ya'qūb Beg's death (896 AH.—1491 AD.) but went back to Herī, just the same with his jokes and retorts. Here is one of them :—" 'Alī-sher at a chess-party in stretching his leg touched Banā'i on the hinder-parts and said jestingly, "It is the sad nuisance of Herī that a man can't stretch his leg without its touching a poet's backside." "Nor draw it up again," retorted Banā'i.¹ In the end the upshot of his jesting was that he had to leave Herī again; he went then to Samarkand.² A great many good new things used to be made for 'Alī-sher Beg, so whenever any-one produced a novelty, he called it 'Alī-sher's in order to give it credit and vogue.³ Some things were called after him in compliment *e.g.* because when he had ear-ache, he wrapped his head up in one of the blue triangular kerchiefs women tie over their heads in winter, that kerchief was called 'Alī-sher's comforter. Then again, Banā'i when he had decided to leave Herī, ordered a quite new kind of pad for his ass and Fol. 180b. dubbed it 'Alī-sher's.

¹ Other jokes made by Banā'i at the expense of Nawā'i are recorded in the various sources.

² Bābur saw Banā'i in Samarkand at the end of 901 AH. (1496 AD. f. 38).

Here Dr. Leyden's translation ends; one other fragment which he translated will be found under the year 925 AH. (Erskine). This statement allows attention to be drawn to the inequality of the shares of the work done for the Memoirs of 1826 by Leyden and by Erskine. It is just to Mr. Erskine, but a justice he did not claim, to point out that Dr. Leyden's share is slight both in amount and in quality; his essential contribution was the initial stimulus he gave to the great labours of his collaborator.

³ So of Lope de Vega (b. 1562; d. 1635 AD.), "It became a common proverb to praise a good thing by calling it a *Lope*, so that jewels, diamonds, pictures, *etc.* were raised into esteem by calling them his" (Montalvan in Ticknor's *Spanish Literature* ii, 270).

Maulānā Saifī of Bukhārā was another ;¹ he was a Mullā complete² who in proof of his mullā-ship used to give a list of the books he had read. He put two *dīwāns* together, one being for the use of tradesmen (*ḥarfa-kar*), and he also wrote many fables. That he wrote no *maṣnawī* is shewn by the following quatrain :—

Though the *maṣnawī* be the orthodox verse,
I know the ode has Divine command ;
Five couplets that charm the heart
I know to outmatch the Two Quintets.³

A Persian prosody he wrote is at once brief and prolix, brief in the sense of omitting things that should be included, and prolix in the sense that plain and simple matters are detailed down to the diacritical points, down even to their Arabic points.⁴ He is said to have been a great drinker, a bad drinker, and a mightily strong-fisted man.

‘Abdu’l-lāh the *maṣnawī*-writer was another.⁵ He was from Jām and was the Mullā’s sister’s son. Hātifi was his pen-name. He wrote poems (*maṣnawī*) in emulation of the Two Quintets,⁶ and called them *Haft-manḡar* (Seven-faces) in imitation of the *Haft-paīkar* (Seven-faces). In emulation of the *Sikandar-nāma* he composed the *Timūr-nāma*. His most renowned *maṣnawī* is *Laila and Majnūn*, but its reputation is greater than its charm.

Mīr Ḥusain the Enigmatist⁷ was another. He seems to have had no equal in making riddles, to have given his whole time to it, and to have been a curiously humble, disconsolate (*nā-murād*) and harmless (*bī-bad*) person.

Mīr Muḥammad *Badakhshī* of Ishkīmīsh was another. As Ishkīmīsh is not in Badakhshān, it is odd he should have made it

Fol. 181.

¹ Maulānā Saifī, known as ‘Arūzī from his mastery in prosody (Rieu’s Pers. Cat. p. 525).

² Here pedantry will be implied in the mullahood.

³ *Khamsatīn* (*infra* f. 180b and note).

⁴ This appears to mean that not only the sparse diacritical pointing common in writing Persian was dealt with but also the fuller Arabic.

⁵ He is best known by his pen-name Hātifi. The B.M. and I.O. have several of his books.

⁶ *Khamsatīn*. Hātifi regarded himself as the successor of Nizāmī and Khusrāu; this, taken with Bābur’s use of the word *Khamsatīn* on f. 7 and here, and Saifī’s just above, leads to the opinion that the *Khamsatīn* of the *Bābur-nāma* are always those of Nizāmī and Khusrāu, the Two Quintets (Rieu’s Pers. Cat. p. 653).

⁷ Maulānā Mīr Kamāl’u’d-dīn Ḥusain of Nishāpūr (Rieu l.c. index s.n.; Ethé’s I.O. Cat. pp. 433 and 1134).

his pen-name. His verse does not rank with that of the poets previously mentioned,¹ and though he wrote a treatise on riddles, his riddles are not first-rate. He was a very pleasant companion ; he waited on me in Samarkand (917 AH.).

Yūsuf the wonderful (*badī*)² was another. He was from the Farghāna country ; his odes are said not to be bad.

Āhī was another, a good ode-writer, latterly in Ibn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā's service, and *ṣāhib-i-dīwān*.³

Muḥammad *Ṣālih* was another.⁴ His odes are tasty but better-flavoured than correct. There is Turkī verse of his also, not badly written. He went to Shaibāq Khān later on and found complete favour. He wrote a Turkī poem (*maṣnawī*), named from Shaibāq Khān, in the *raml masaddas majnūn* measure, that is to say the metre of the *Subḥat*.⁵ It is feeble and flat ; Muḥammad *Ṣālih*'s reader soon ceases to believe in him.⁶ Here is one of his good couplets :—

A fat man (Tambal) has gained the land of Farghāna,
Making Farghāna the house of the fat-man (Tambal-khāna).

Farghāna is known also as Tambal-khāna.⁷ I do not know whether the above couplet is found in the *maṣnawī* mentioned.

¹ One of his couplets on good and bad fortune is striking ; " The fortune of men is like a sand-glass ; one hour up, the next down." See D'Herbélot in his article (Erskine).

² H. S. iii, 336 ; Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 1089.

³ Āhī (sighing) was with Shāh-i-gharīb before Ibn-i-ḥusain and to him dedicated his *dīwān*. The words *ṣāhib-i-dīwān* seem likely to be used here with double meaning *i.e.* to express authorship and finance office. Though Bābur has made frequent mention of authorship of a *dīwān* and of office in the *Dīwān*, he has not used these words hitherto in either sense ; there may be a play of words here.

⁴ Muḥammad *Ṣālih* Mīrzā *Khawārizmī*, author of the *Shaibānī-nāma* which manifestly is the poem (*maṣnawī*) mentioned below. This has been published with a German translation by Professor Vambéry and has been edited with Russian notes by Mr. Platon Melioransky (Rieu's Turkish Cat. p. 74 ; H. S. iii, 301).

⁵ Jāmi's *Subḥatū'l-abrār* (Rosary of the righteous).

⁶ The reference may be to things said by Muḥ. *Ṣālih* the untruth of which was known to Bābur through his own part in the events. A crying instance of misrepresentation is *Ṣālih*'s assertion, in rhetorical phrase, that Bābur took booty in jewels from Khusrāu Shāh ; other instances concern the affairs of The Khāns and of Bābur in Transoxiana (f. 124b and index *s.nn.* Aḥmad and Maḥmūd *Chaghatū* etc. ; T. R. index *s.nn.*).

⁷ The name Fat-land (Tambal-khāna) has its parallel in Fat-village (Simiz-kint) a name of Samarkand ; in both cases the nick-name is accounted for by the fertility of irrigated lands. We have not been able to find the above-quoted couplet in the *Shaibānī-nāma* (Vambéry) ; needless to say, the pun is on the nick-name [*tambal*, fat] of Sl. Aḥmad *Tambal*.

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ was a very wicked, tyrannical and heartless person.¹

Maulānā Shāh Ḥusain Kāmī² was another. There are not-bad verses of his ; he wrote odes, and also seems to have put a *dīwān* together.

Hilālī (New-moon) was another ; he is still alive.³ Correct and graceful though his odes are, they make little impression. There is a *dīwān* of his ;⁴ and there is also the poem (*maṣnawī*) in the *khafīf* measure, entitled *Shāh and Darwīsh* of which, fair though many couplets are, the basis and purport are hollow and bad. Ancient poets when writing of love and the lover, have represented the lover as a man and the beloved as a woman ; but Hilālī has made the lover a darwīsh, the beloved a king, with the result that the couplets containing the king's acts and words set him forth as shameless and abominable. It is an extreme effrontery in Hilālī that for a poem's sake he should describe a young man and that young man a king, as resembling the shameless and immoral.⁵ It is heard-said that Hilālī had a very retentive memory, and that he had by heart 30 or 40,000 couplets, and the greater part of the Two Quintets,—all most useful for the minutiae of prosody and the art of verse.

Ahlī⁶ was another ; he was of the common people (*‘āmi*), wrote verse not bad, even produced a *dīwān*.

¹ Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ does not show well in his book ; he is sometimes coarse, gloats over spoil whether in human captives or goods, and, his good-birth not-forbidding, is a servile flatterer. Bābur's word "heartless" is just ; it must have had sharp prompting from Ṣāliḥ's rejoicing in the downfall of The Khāns, Bābur's uncles.

² the Longer (H.S. iii, 349).

³ Maulānā Badr'u'd-dīn (Full-moon of the Faith) whose pen-name was Hilālī, was of Astarābād. It may be noted that two dates of his death are found, 936 and 939 A.H. the first given by de Saçy, the second by Rieu, and that the second seems to be correct (*Not. et Extr.* p. 285 ; *Pers. Cat.* p. 656 ; Hammer's *Geschichte* p. 368).

⁴ B.M. Add. 7783.

⁵ Opinions differ as to the character of this work :—Bābur's is uncompromising ; von Hammer (p. 369) describes it as "*ein romantisches Gedicht, welches eine sentimentale Männerliebe behandelt*" ; Sprenger (p. 427), as a mystical *maṣnawī* (poem) ; Rieu finds no spiritual symbolism in it and condemns it (*Pers. Cat.* p. 656 and, quoting the above passage of Bābur, p. 1090) ; Ethé, who has translated it, takes it to be mystical and symbolic (*I.O. Cat.* p. 783).

⁶ Of four writers using the pen-name Ahlī (Of-the-people), *viz.* those of Turān, Shīrāz, Tarshīz (in Khurāsān), and 'Irāq, the one noticed here seems to be he of Tarshīz. Ahlī of Tarshīz was the son of a locally-known pious father and became a Superintendent of the Mint ; Bābur's '*āmi*' may refer to Ahlī's first patrons, tanners and shoe-makers by writing for whom he earned his living (Sprenger, p. 319). Erskine read '*ummi*', meaning that Ahlī could neither read nor write ; de Courteille that he was *un homme du commun*.

(I. Artists.)

Of fine pen-men there were many ; the one standing-out in *nakhsh ta'liq* was Sl. 'Alī of Mashhad¹ who copied many books for the Mirzā and for 'Alī-sher Beg, writing daily 30 couplets for the first, 20 for the second.

Of the painters, one was Bih-zād.² His work was very dainty but he did not draw beardless faces well ; he used greatly to lengthen the double chin (*ghab-ghab*) ; bearded faces he drew admirably.

Shāh Muẓaffar was another ; he painted dainty portraits, Fol. 182. representing the hair very daintily.³ Short life was granted him ; he left the world when on his upward way to fame.

Of musicians, as has been said, no-one played the dulcimer so well as Khwāja 'Abdu'l-lāh *Marwārīd*.

Qul-i-muḥammad the lutanist (*'āūdī*) was another ; he also played the guitar (*ghichak*) beautifully and added three strings to it. For many and good preludes (*peshrau*) he had not his equal amongst composers or performers, but this is only true of his preludes.

Shaikhī the flautist (*nāyī*) was another ; it is said he played also the lute and the guitar, and that he had played the flute from his 12th or 13th year. He once produced a wonderful air on the flute, at one of Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā's assemblies ; Qul-i-muḥammad could not reproduce it on the guitar, so declared this a worthless instrument ; Shaikhī *Nāyī* at once took the guitar from Qul-i-muḥammad's hands and played the air on it, well and in perfect tune. They say he was so expert in music that having once heard an air, he was able to say, "This or that is the tune of so-and-so's or so-and-so's flute."⁴ He composed few works ; one or two airs are heard of.

Shāh Qulī the guitar-player was another ; he was of 'Irāq, came into Khurāsān, practised playing, and succeeded. He composed many airs, preludes and works (*nakhsh, peshrau u aīshlār*).

¹ He was an occasional poet (H.S. iii, 350 and iv, 118 ; Rieu's Pers. Cat. p. 531 ; Ethé's I.O. Cat. p. 428).

² Ustād Kamālū'd-dīn Bih-zād (well-born ; H.S. iii, 350). Work of his is reproduced in Dr. Martin's *Painting and Painters of Persia* of 1913 AD.

³ This sentence is not in the Elph. MS.

⁴ Perhaps he could reproduce tunes heard and say where heard.

Fol. 182b. Husain the lutanist was another ; he composed and played with taste ; he would twist the strings of his lute into one and play on that. His fault was affectation about playing. He made a fuss once when Shaibāq Khān ordered him to play, and not only played badly but on a worthless instrument he had brought in place of his own. The Khān saw through him at once and ordered him to be well beaten on the neck, there and then. This was the one good action Shaibāq Khān did in the world ; it was well-done truly ! a worse chastisement is the due of such affected mannikins !

Ghulām-i-shādī (Slave of Festivity), the son of Shādī the reciter, was another of the musicians. Though he performed, he did it less well than those of the circle just described. There are excellent themes (*sūt*) and beautiful airs (*nakhsḥ*) of his ; no-one in his day composed such airs and themes. In the end Shaibāq Khān sent him to the Qāzān Khān, Muḥammad Amīn ; no further news has been heard of him.

Mīr Azū was another composer, not a performer ; he produced few works but those few were in good taste.

Banā'i was also a musical composer ; there are excellent airs and themes of his.

An unrivalled man was the wrestler Muḥammad Bū-sa'id ; he was foremost amongst the wrestlers, wrote verse too, composed themes and airs, one excellent air of his being in *chār-gāh* (four-time),—and he was pleasant company. It is extraordinary that such accomplishments as his should be combined with wrestling.¹

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE RESUMED.

(a. *Burial of Sl. Husain Mīrzā.*)

At the time Sl. Husain Mīrzā took his departure from the world, there were present of the Mīrzās only Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā and Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain Mīrzā. The latter had been his father's favourite son ; his leading beg was Muḥammad Barandūq *Barlās* ; his mother Khadīja Begīm had been the Mīrzā's most

¹ M. Belin quotes quatrains exchanged by 'Alī-sher and this man (*J. Asiatique* xvii, 199).

influential wife; and to him the Mīrzā's people had gathered. Fol. 183. For these reasons Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā had anxieties and thought of not coming,¹ but Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain Mīrzā and Muḥammad Barandūq Beg themselves rode out, dispelled his fears and brought him in.

Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā was carried into Herī and there buried in his own College with royal rites and ceremonies.

(b. *A dual succession.*)

At this crisis Zū'n-nūn Beg was also present. He, Muḥ. Barandūq Beg, the late Mīrzā's begs and those of the two (young) Mīrzās having assembled, decided to make the two Mīrzās joint-rulers in Herī. Zū'n-nūn Beg was to have control in Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā's Gate, Muḥ. Barandūq Beg, in Muẓaffar-i-ḥusain Mīrzā's. Shaikh 'Alī Ṭaghāī was to be *dārogha* in Herī for the first, Yūsuf-i-'alī for the second. Theirs was a strange plan! Partnership in rule is a thing unheard of; against it stand Shaikh Sa'dī's words in the Gulistān:—"Ten darwishes sleep under a blanket (*gilīm*); two kings find no room in a clime" (*aqlīm*).²

¹ *i.e.* from his own camp to Bābā Ilāhī.

² f. 121 has a fuller quotation. On the dual succession, *see* T.R. p. 196.

912 A.H.—MAY 24TH 1506 TO MAY 13TH 1507 A.D.¹

(a. *Bābur starts to join Sl. Husain Mīrzā.*)

In the month of Muḥarram we set out by way of Ghūr-bund
Fol. 183b. and Shibr-tū to oppose the Aūzbeg.

As Jahāngīr Mīrzā had gone out of the country in some sort of displeasure, we said, "There might come much mischief and trouble if he drew the clans (*āimāq*) to himself;" and "What trouble might come of it!" and, "First let's get the clans in hand!" So said, we hurried forward, riding light and leaving the baggage (*aurūq*) at Ushtur-shahr in charge of Walī the treasurer and Daulat-qadam of the scouts. That day we reached Fort Zāḥāq; from there we crossed the pass of the Little-dome (Gumbazak-kūtal), trampled through Sāighān, went over the Dandān-shikan pass and dismounted in the meadow of Kāhmard. From Kāhmard we sent Sayyid Afzal the Seer-of-dreams (*Khawāb-bīn*) and Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi* to Sl. Husain Mīrzā with a letter giving the particulars of our start from Kābul.²

Jahāngīr Mīrzā must have lagged on the road, for when he got opposite Bāmiān and went with 20 or 30 persons to visit it, he saw near it the tents of our people left with the baggage. Thinking we were there, he and his party hurried back to their camp and, without an eye to anything, without regard for their own people marching in the rear, made off for Yaka-aūlāng.³

(b. *Action of Shaibāq Khān.*)

When Shaibāq Khān had laid siege to Balkh, in which was Sl. Qul-i-nachāq,⁴ he sent two or three sultāns with 3 or 4000 men to overrun Badakhshān. At the time Mubārak Shāh and

¹ Elph. MS. f. 144; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 148b and 217 f. 125b; Mems. p. 199.

² News of Husain's death in 911 A.H. (f. 163b) did not reach Bābur till 912 A.H. (f. 184b).

³ Lone-meadow (f. 195b). Jahāngīr will have come over the 'Irāq-pass, Bābur's baggage-convoy, by Shibr-tū. Cf. T.R. p. 199 for Bābur and Jahāngīr at this time.

⁴ Servant-of-the-mace; but perhaps, Qilinj-chāq, swords-man.

Zubair had again joined Nāṣir Mīrzā, spite of former resentments and bickerings, and they all were lying at Shakhdān, below Kishm and east of the Kishm-water. Moving through the night, one body of Aūzbegs crossed that water at the top of the morning and advanced on the Mīrzā ; he at once drew off to rising-ground, mustered his force, sounded trumpets, met and overcame them. Behind the Aūzbegs was the Kishm-water in flood, many were drowned in it, a mass of them died by arrow and sword, more were made prisoner. Another body of Aūzbegs, sent against Mubārak Shāh and Zubair where they lay, higher up the water and nearer Kishm, made them retire to the rising-ground. Of this the Mīrzā heard ; when he had beaten off his own assailants, he moved against theirs. So did the Kohistān begs, gathered with horse and foot, still higher up the river. Unable to make stand against this attack, the Aūzbegs fled, but of this body also a mass died by sword, arrow, and water. In all some 1000 to 1500 may have died. This was Nāṣir Mīrzā's one good success ; a man of his brought us news about it while we were in the dale of Kāhmard.

Fol. 184.

(c. *Bābur moves on into Khurāsān.*)

While we were in Kāhmard, our army fetched corn from Ghūrī and Dahāna. There too we had letters from Sayyid Afzal and Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi* whom we had sent into Khurāsān ; their news was of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's death.

Fol. 184b.

This news notwithstanding, we set forward for Khurāsān ; though there were other grounds for doing this, what decided us was anxious thought for the reputation of this (Timūrid) dynasty. We went up the trough (*aichī*) of the Ājar-valley, on over Tūp and Mandaghān, crossed the Balkh-water and came out on Šāf-hill. Hearing there that Aūzbegs were overrunning Sān and Chār-yak,¹ we sent a force under Qāsim Beg against them ; he got up with them, beat them well, cut many heads off, and returned.

We lay a few days in the meadow of Šāf-hill, waiting for news of Jahāngīr Mīrzā and the clans (*āimāq*) to whom persons

¹ One of four, a fourth. Chār-yak may be a component of the name of the well-known place, n. of Kābul, "Chārikār" ; but also the *Chār* in it may be Hindūstāni and refer to the permits-to-pass after tolls paid, given to caravans halted there for taxation. Raverly writes it Chāriākār.

had been sent. We hunted once, those hills being very full of wild sheep and goats (*kiyāḳ*). All the clans came in and waited on me within a few days; it was to me they came; they had not gone to Jahāngīr Mīrzā though he had sent men often enough to them, once sending even 'Imādu'd-dīn Mas'ūd. He himself was forced to come at last; he saw me at the foot of the valley when I came down off Šāf-hill. Being anxious about Khurāsān, we neither paid him attention nor took thought for the clans, but went right on through Gurzwān, Almār, Qaišār, Chīchīk-tū, and Fakhrū'd-dīn's-death (*āilūm*) into the Bām-valley, one of the dependencies of Bādghīs.

Fol. 185.

The world being full of divisions,¹ things were being taken from country and people with the long arm; we ourselves began to take something, by laying an impost on the Turks and clans of those parts, in two or three months taking perhaps 300 *tūmāns* of *kipkī*.²

(d. *Coalition of the Khurāsān Mīrzās.*)

A few days before our arrival (in Bām-valley?) some of the Khurāsān light troops and of Zū'n-nūn Beg's men had well beaten Aūzbeḡ raiders in Pand-dih (Panj-dih?) and Marūchāq, killing a mass of men.³

Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā and Muḡaffar-i-ḡusain Mīrzā with Muḡammad Barandūq *Barlās*, Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn* and his son Shāh Beg resolved to move on Shaibāq Khān, then besieging Sl. Qul-i-nachāq (?) in Balkh. Accordingly they summoned all Sl. ḡusain Mīrzā's sons, and got out of Herī to effect their purpose. At Chihil-dukhtarān Abū'l-muḡsin M. joined them from Marv; Ibn-i-ḡusain M. followed, coming up from Tūn and Qāīn. Kūpuk (Kīpik) M. was in Mashhad; often though they sent to him, he behaved unmanly, spoke senseless words, and did not come. Between him and Muḡaffar Mīrzā, there was jealousy; when Muḡaffar M. was made (joint-)ruler, he said, "How should I go to *his* presence?" Through this disgusting jealousy he did

¹ Amongst the disruptions of the time was that of the Khānate of Qībchāq (Erskine).

² The nearest approach to *kipkī* we have found in Dictionaries is *kupaki*, which comes close to the Russian *copeck*. Erskine notes that the *casbeki* is an oval copper coin (Tavernier, p. 121); and that a *tūmān* is a myriad (10,000). Cf. Manucci (Irvine), i, 78 and iv, 417 note; Chardin iv, 278.

³ Muḡarram 912 AH. = June 1506 AD. (H.S. iii, 353).

not come now, even at this crisis when all his brethren, older and younger, were assembling in concord, resolute against such a foe as Shaibāq Khān. Kūpuk M. laid his own absence to rivalry, but everybody else laid it to his cowardice. One word ! In this world acts such as his outlive the man ; if a man have any share of intelligence, why try to be ill-spoken of after death ? if he be ambitious, why not try so to act that, he gone, men will praise him ? In the honourable mention of their names, wise men find a second life !

Fol. 185b.

Envoys from the Mīrzās came to me also, Mūh. Barandūq *Barlās* himself following them. As for me, what was to hinder my going ? It was for that very purpose I had travelled one or two hundred *yāghāch* (500–600 miles) ! I at once started with Muḥ. Barandūq Beg for Murgh-āb¹ where the Mīrzās were lying.

(*e. Bābur meets the Mīrzās.*)

The meeting with the Mīrzās was on Monday the 8th of the latter Jumāda (Oct. 26th 1506 AH.). Abū'l-muḥsin Mīrzā came out a mile to meet me ; we approached one another ; on my side, I dismounted, on his side, he ; we advanced, saw one another and remounted. Near the camp Muẓaffar Mīrzā and Ibn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā met us ; they, being younger than Abū'l-muḥsin Mīrzā ought to have come out further than he to meet me.² Their dilatoriness may not have been due to pride, but to heaviness after wine ; their negligence may have been no slight on me, but due to their own social pleasures. On this Muẓaffar Mīrzā laid stress ;³ we two saw one another without dismounting, so did Ibn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā and I. We rode on together and, in an amazing crowd and press, dismounted at Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā's Gate. Such was the throng that some were lifted off the ground for three or four steps together, while others, wishing for some reason to get out, were carried, willy-nilly, four or five steps the other way.

Fol. 186.

¹ I take Murgh-āb here to be the fortified place at the crossing of the river by the main n.e. road ; Bābur when in Dara-i-bām was on a tributary of the Murgh-āb. Khwānd-amīr records that the information of his approach was hailed in the Mīrzās' camp as good news (H.S. iii, 354).

² Bābur gives the Mīrzās precedence by age, ignoring Muẓaffar's position as joint-ruler.

³ *mubālgha qīlāi* ; perhaps he laid stress on their excuse ; perhaps did more than was ceremonially incumbent on him.

We reached Badi'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā's Audience-tent. It had been agreed that I, on entering, should bend the knee (*yūkūnghāi*) once, that the Mīrzā should rise and advance to the edge of the estrade,¹ and that we should see one another there. I went in, bent the knee once, and was going right forward; the Mīrzā rose rather languidly and advanced rather slowly; Qāsim Beg, as he was my well-wisher and held my reputation as his own, gave my girdle a tug; I understood, moved more slowly, and so the meeting was on the appointed spot.

Four divans (*tūshuk*) had been placed in the tent. Always in the Mīrzā's tents one side was like a gate-way² and at the edge of this gate-way he always sat. A divan was set there now on which he and Muzaffar Mīrzā sat together. Abū'l-muḥsin, Mīrzā and I sat on another, set in the right-hand place of honour (*tūr*). On another, to Badi'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā's left, sat Ibn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā with Qāsim Sl. *Aūzbeg*, a son-in-law of the late Mīrzā and father of Qāsim-i-ḥusain Sultān. To my right and below my divan was one on which sat Jahāngīr Mīrzā and 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mīrzā. To the left of Qāsim Sl. and Ibn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā, but a good deal lower, were Muḥ. Barandūq Beg, Zū'n-nūn Beg and Qāsim Beg.

Although this was not a social gathering, cooked viands were brought in, drinkables³ were set with the food, and near them gold and silver cups. Our forefathers through a long space of time, had respected the Chīngīz-tūrā (ordinance), doing nothing opposed to it, whether in assembly or Court, in sittings-down

¹ *'irg*, to which estrade answers in its sense of a carpet on which stands a raised seat.

² Perhaps it was a recess, resembling a gate-way (W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 151 and 217 f. 127b). The impression conveyed by Bābur's words here to the artist who in B.M. Or. 3714, has depicted the scene, is that there was a vestibule opening into the tent by a door and that the Mīrzā sat near that door. It must be said however that the illustration does not closely follow the text, in some known details.

³ *shīra*, fruit-syrups, sherbets. Bābur's word for wine is *chāghīr* (q.v. index) and this reception being public, wine could hardly have been offered in Sunnī Herī. Bābur's strictures can apply to the vessels of precious metal he mentions, these being forbidden to Musalmāns; from his reference to the Tūra it would appear to repeat the same injunctions. Bābur broke up such vessels before the battle of Kanwāha (f. 315). Shāh-i-jahān did the same; when sent by his father Jahāngīr to reconquer the Deccan (1030 A.H. - 1621 A.D.) he asked permission to follow the example of his ancestor Bābur, renounced wine, poured his stock into the Chambal, broke up his cups and gave the fragments to the poor (*'Amal-i-sāliḥ*, ; Hughes' *Dict. of Islām* quoting the *Hidāyah* and *Mishkāt*, s.nn. Drinkables, Drinking-vessels, and Gold; Lane's *Modern Egyptians* p. 125 n.).

or risings-up. Though it has not Divine authority so that a man obeys it of necessity, still good rules of conduct must be obeyed by whom-soever they are left; just in the same way that, if a forefather have done ill, his ill must be changed for good.

After the meal I rode from the Mīrzā's camp some 2 miles to our own dismounting-place. Fol. 187.

(*f. Bābur claims due respect.*)

At my second visit Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā shewed me less respect than at my first. I therefore had it said to Muḥ. Barandūq Beg and to Zū'n-nūn Beg that, small though my age was (*æt.* 24), my place of honour was large; that I had seated myself twice on the throne of our forefathers in Samarkand by blow straight-dealt; and that to be laggard in shewing me respect was unreasonable, since it was for this (Tīmūrid) dynasty's sake I had thus fought and striven with that alien foe. This said, and as it was reasonable, they admitted their mistake at once and shewed the respect claimed.

(*g. Bābur's temperance.*)

There was a wine-party (*chāghīr-majlisī*) once when I went after the Mid-day Prayer to Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā's presence. At that time I drank no wine. The party was altogether elegant; every sort of relish to wine (*gazak*) was set out on the napery, with brochettes of fowl and goose, and all sorts of viands. The Mīrzā's entertainments were much renowned; truly was this one free from the pang of thirst (*bī ghall*), reposeful and tranquil. I was at two or three of his wine-parties while we were on the bank of the Murgh-āb; once it was known I did not drink, no pressure to do so was put on me.

I went to one wine-party of Muẓaffar Mīrzā's. Ḥusain of 'Alī Jalāir and Mīr Badr were both there, they being in his service. When Mīr Badr had had enough (*kaifīyat*), he danced, Fol. 187b. and danced well what seemed to be his own invention.

(*h. Comments on the Mīrzās.*)

Three months it took the Mīrzās to get out of Herī, agree amongst themselves, collect troops, and reach Murgh-āb.

Meantime Sl. Qul-i-nachāq (?), reduced to extremity, had surrendered Balkh to the Aūzbeg but that Aūzbeg, hearing of our alliance against him, had hurried back to Samarkand. The Mīrzās were good enough as company and in social matters, in conversation and parties, but they were strangers to war, strategy, equipment, bold fight and encounter.

(i. *Winter plans.*)

While we were on the Murgh-āb, news came that Ḥaq-nazīr *Chapā* (var. Ḥiān) was over-running the neighbourhood of Chīchik-tū with 4 or 500 men. All the Mīrzās there present, do what they would, could not manage to send a light troop against those raiders! It is 10 *yīghāch* (50-55 m.) from Murgh-āb to Chīchik-tū. I asked the work; they, with a thought for their own reputation, would not give it to me.

The year being almost at an end when Shaibāq Khān retired, the Mīrzās decided to winter where it was convenient and to reassemble next summer in order to repel their foe.

They pressed me to winter in Khurāsān, but this not one of my well-wishers saw it good for me to do because, while Kābul and Ghaznī were full of a turbulent and ill-conducted medley of people and hordes, Turks, Mughūls, clans and nomads (*āimāq u ahsham*), Afghāns and Hazāra, the roads between us and that not yet desirably subjected country of Kābul were, one, the mountain-road, a month's journey even without delay through snow or other cause,—the other, the low-country road, a journey of 40 or 50 days.

Consequently we excused ourselves to the Mīrzās, but they would accept no excuse and, for all our pleas, only urged the more. In the end Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā, Abū'l-muḥsin Mīrzā and Muẓaffar Mīrzā themselves rode to my tent and urged me to stay the winter. It was impossible to refuse men of such ruling position, come in person to press us to stay on. Besides this, the whole habitable world has not such a town as Herī had become under Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, whose orders and efforts had increased its splendour and beauty as ten to one, rather, as twenty to one. As I greatly wished to stay, I consented to do so.

Abū'l-muḥsin M. went to Marv, his own district ; Ibn-i-ḥusain M. went to his, Tūn and Qāin ; Badī'u'z-zamān M. and Muẓaffar M. set off for Herī ; I followed them a few days later, taking the road by Chihil-dukhtarān and Tāsh-rabāṭ.¹

(j. *Bābur visits the Begīms in Herī.*)

All the Begīms, *i.e.* my paternal-aunt Pāyanda-sultān Begīm, Khadija Begīm, Apāq Begīm, and my other paternal-aunt Begīms, daughters of Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mirzā,² were gathered together, at the time I went to see them, in Sl. Ḥusain Mirzā's College at his Mausoleum. Having bent the knee with (*yūkūnūb bīla*) Pāyanda-sultān Begīm first of all, I had an interview with her ; next, not bending the knee,³ I had an interview with Apāq Begīm ; next, having bent the knee with Khadija Begīm, I had an interview with her. After sitting there for some time during recitation of the Qorān,⁴ we went to the South College where Khadija Begīm's tents had been set up and where food was placed before us. After partaking of this, we went to Pāyanda-sultān Begīm's tents and there spent the night. Fol. 188a.

The New-year's Garden was given us first for a camping-ground ; there our camp was arranged ; and there I spent the night of the day following my visit to the Begīms, but as I did not find it a convenient place, 'Alī-sher Beg's residence was

¹ This may be the Rabāṭ-i-sanghī of some maps, on a near road between the "Forty-daughters" and Harāt ; or Bābur may have gone out of his direct way to visit Rabāṭ-i-sang-bast, a renowned halting place at the Carfax of the Herī-Ṭūs and Nishāpūr-Mashhad roads, built by one Arslān *Jasāla* who lies buried near, and rebuilt with great magnificence by 'Alī-sher *Nawā'i* (Daulat-shāh, Browne, p. 176).

² The wording here is confusing to those lacking family details. The paternal-aunt begīms can be Pāyanda-sultān (named), Khadija-sultān, Apāq-sultān, and Fakhr-jahān Begīms, all daughters of Abū-sa'īd. The Apāq Begīm named above (also on f. 168b *q.v.*) does not now seem to me to be Abū-sa'īd's daughter (Gul-badan, trs. Bio. App.).

³ *yūkūnmāi*. Unless all copies I have seen reproduce a primary clerical mistake of Bābur's, the change of salutation indicated by there being no kneeling with Apāq Begīm, points to a *nuance* of etiquette. Of the verb *yūkūnmāk* it may be noted that it both describes the ceremonious attitude of intercourse, *i.e.* kneeling and sitting back on both heels (Shaw), and also the kneeling on meeting. From Bābur's phrase *Begīm bīla yūkūnūb* [having kneeled with], it appears that each of those meeting made the genuflection ; I have not found the phrase used of other meetings ; it is not the one used when a junior or a man of less degree meets a senior or superior in rank (*e.g.* Khusrāu and Bābur f. 123, or Bābur and Badī'u'z-zamān f. 186).

⁴ Musalmāns employ a set of readers who succeed one another in reading (reciting) the Qorān at the tombs of their men of eminence. This reading is sometimes continued day and night. The readers are paid by the rent of lands or other funds assigned for the purpose (Erskine).

assigned to me, where I was as long as I stayed in Herī, every few days shewing myself in Badi'ū'z-zamān Mirzā's presence in the World-adorning Garden.

(*k. The Mirzās entertain Bābur in Herī.*)

A few days after Muẓaffar Mirzā had settled down in the White-garden, he invited me to his quarters; Khadija Begīm was also there, and with me went Jahāngīr Mirzā. When we had eaten a meal in the Begīm's presence,¹ Muẓaffar Mirzā took me to where there was a wine-party, in the Tarab-khāna (Joy-house) built by Bābur Mirzā, a sweet little abode, a smallish, two-storeyed house in the middle of a smallish garden. Great pains have been taken with its upper storey; this has a retreat (*hujra*) in each of its four corners, the space between each two retreats being like a *shāh-nīshīn*²; in between these retreats and *shāh-nīshīns* is one large room on all sides of which are pictures which, although Bābur Mirzā built the house, were commanded by Abū-sa'īd Mirzā and depict his own wars and encounters.

Fol. 189.

Two divans had been set in the north *shāh-nīshīn*, facing each other, and with their sides turned to the north. On one Muẓaffar Mirzā and I sat, on the other Sl. Mas'ūd Mirzā³ and Jahāngīr Mirzā. We being guests, Muẓaffar Mirzā gave me place above himself. The social cups were filled, the cup-bearers ordered to carry them to the guests; the guests drank down the mere wine as if it were water-of-life; when it mounted to their heads, the party waxed warm.

They thought to make me also drink and to draw me into their own circle. Though up till then I had not committed the sin of wine-drinking⁴ and known the cheering sensation of comfortable drunkenness, I was inclined to drink wine and my heart was drawn to cross that stream (*wāda*). I had had no inclination for wine in my childhood; I knew nothing of its cheer and pleasure. If, as sometimes, my father pressed wine

¹ A suspicion that Khadija put poison in Jahāngīr's wine may refer to this occasion (T.R. p. 199).

² These are *jharokha-i-darsān*, windows or balconies from which a ruler shews himself to the people.

³ Mas'ūd was then blind.

⁴ Bābur first drank wine not earlier than 917 A.H. (f. 49 and note), therefore when nearing 30.

on me, I excused myself; I did not commit the sin. After he died, Khwāja Qāzī's right guidance kept me guiltless; as at that time I abstained from forbidden viands, what room was there for the sin of wine? Later on when, with the young man's lusts and at the prompting of sensual passion, desire for wine arose, there was no-one to press it on me, no-one indeed aware of my leaning towards it; so that, inclined for it though my heart was, it was difficult of myself to do such a thing, one thitherto undone. It crossed my mind now, when the Mīrzās were so pressing and when too we were in a town so refined as Herī, "Where should I drink if not here? here where all the chattels and utensils of luxury and comfort are gathered and in use." So saying to myself, I resolved to drink wine; I determined to cross that stream; but it occurred to me that as I had not taken wine in Badī'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā's house or from his hand, who was to me as an elder brother, things might find way into his mind if I took wine in his younger brother's house and from his hand. Having so said to myself, I mentioned my doubt and difficulty. Said they, "Both the excuse and the obstacle are reasonable," pressed me no more to drink then but settled that when I was in company with both Mīrzās, I should drink under the insistance of both. Fol. 189b.

Amongst the musicians present at this party were Hāfiẓ Hājī, Jalālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd the flautist, and Ghulām *shādī*'s younger brother, Ghulām *bacha* the Jews'-harpist. Hāfiẓ Hājī sang well, as Herī people sing, quietly, delicately, and in tune. With Jahāngīr Mīrzā was a Samarkandī singer Mīr Jān whose singing was always loud, harsh and out-of-tune. The Mīrzā, having had enough, ordered him to sing; he did so, loudly, harshly and without taste. Khurāsānīs have quite refined manners; if, under this singing, one did stop his ears, the face of another put question, not one could stop the singer, out of consideration for the Mīrzā. Fol. 190.

After the Evening Prayer we left the Tarab-khāna for a new house in Muẓaffar Mīrzā's winter-quarters. There Yūsuf-i-'alī danced in the drunken time, and being, as he was, a master in music, danced well. The party waxed very warm there. Muẓaffar Mīrzā gave me a sword-belt, a lambskin surtout, and a grey *tipūchāq*

(horse). Jānak recited in Turkī. Two slaves of the Mīrzā's, known as Big-moon and Little-moon, did offensive, drunken tricks in the drunken time. The party was warm till night when those assembled scattered, I, however, staying the night in that house.

Fol. 190b. Qāsim Beg getting to hear that I had been pressed to drink wine, sent some-one to Zū'n-nūn Beg with advice for him and for Muẓaffar Mīrzā, given in very plain words; the result was that the Mīrzās entirely ceased to press wine upon me.

Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā, hearing that Muẓaffar M. had entertained me, asked me to a party arranged in the Maqauwī-khāna of the World-adorning Garden. He asked also some of my close circle¹ and some of our braves. Those about me could never drink (openly) on my own account; if they ever did drink, they did it perhaps once in 40 days, with doorstrap fast and under a hundred fears. Such as these were now invited; here too they drank with a hundred precautions, sometimes calling off my attention, sometimes making a screen of their hands, notwithstanding that I had given them permission to follow common custom, because this party was given by one standing to me as a father or elder brother. People brought in weeping-willows . . .²

Fol. 191. At this party they set a roast goose before me but as I was no carver or disjointer of birds, I left it alone. "Do you not like it?" inquired the Mīrzā. Said I, "I am a poor carver." On this he at once disjointed the bird and set it again before me. In such matters he had no match. At the end of the party he gave me an enamelled waist-dagger, a *chār-qāb*,³ and a *tīpūchāq*.

(1. *Bābur sees the sights of Herī*.)

Every day of the time I was in Herī I rode out to see a new sight; my guide in these excursions was Yūsuf-i-'alī Kūkūldāsh; wherever we dismounted, he set food before me. Except Sl.

¹ *āchhkīlār*, French, *intérieur*.

² The obscure passage following here is discussed in Appendix I, *On the weeping-willows of f. 190b*.

³ Here this may well be a gold-embroidered garment.

Ḥusain Mīrzā's Almshouse, not one famous spot, maybe, was left unseen in those 40 days.

I saw the Gāzur-gāh,¹ 'Alī-sher's Bāghcha (Little-garden), the Paper-mortars,² Takht-astāna (Royal-residence), Pul-i-gāh, Kahad-stān,³ Naẓar-gāh-garden, Ni'matābād (Pleasure-place), Gāzur-gāh Avenue, Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā's Ḥazīrat,⁴ Takht-i-safar,⁵ Takht-i-nawā'i, Takht-i-barkar, Takht-i-Ḥājī Beg, Takht-i-Bahā'-u'd-dīn 'Umar, Takht-i-Shaikh Zainu'd-dīn, Maulānā 'Abdu'r-raḥmān *Jāmi's* honoured shrine and tomb,⁶ Namāz-gāh-i-mukhtār,⁷ the Fish-pond,⁸ Sāq-i-sulaimān,⁹ Bulūrī (Crystal) which originally may have been Abū'l-walīd,¹⁰ Imām Fakhr,¹¹ Avenue-garden, Mīrzā's Colleges and tomb, Guhār-shād Begīm's College, tomb,¹² and Congregational Mosque, the Ravens'-garden,

¹ This, the tomb of Khwāja 'Abdu'l-lāh *Anṣarī* (d. 481 AH.) stands some 2 m. north of Herī. Bābur mentions one of its numerous attendants of his day, Kamālu'd-dīn Ḥusain *Gāzur-gāhī*. Mohan Lall describes it as he saw it in 1831; says the original name of the locality was Kār-zār-gāh, place-of-battle; and, as perhaps his most interesting detail, mentions that Jalālu'd-dīn *Rūmī's Maṣnawī* was recited every morning near the tomb and that people fainted during the invocation (*Travels in the Panj-āb* etc. p. 252). Colonel Yate has described the tomb as he saw it some 50 years later (JASB 1887); and explains the name Gāzur-gāh (lit. bleaching-place) by the following words of an inscription there found; "His tomb (Anṣarī's) is a washing-place (*gāzur-gāh*) wherein the cloud of the Divine forgiveness washes white the black records of men" (p. 88 and p. 102).

² *juāz-i-kaghazlār* (f. 47b and note).

³ The *Ḥabībū's-siyār* and Hai. MS. write this name with medial "round *hā*"; this allows it to be Kahad-stān, a running-place, race-course. Khwānd-amīr and Daulat-shāh call it a meadow (*auḷāng*); the latter speaks of a feast as held there; it was Shaibānī's head-quarters when he took Herāt.

⁴ *var.* Khatīra; either an enclosure (*qūrūq*?) or a fine and lofty building.

⁵ This may have been a usual halting-place on a journey (*safar*) north. It was built by Ḥusain *Bāz-garā*, overlooked hills and fields covered with *arghwān* (f. 137b) and seems once to have been a Paradise (Mohan Lall, p. 256).

⁶ *Jāmi's* tomb was in the 'Id-gah of Herī (H.S. ii, 337), which appears to be the Muṣalla (Praying-place) demolished by Amīr 'Abdu'r-raḥmān in the 19th century. Col. Yate was shewn a tomb in the Muṣalla said to be *Jāmi's* and agreeing in the age, 81, given on it, with *Jāmi's* at death, but he found a *crux* in the inscription (pp. 99, 106).

⁷ This may be the Muṣalla (Yate, p. 98).

⁸ This place is located by the H.S. at 5 *farsakh* from Herī (de Meynard at 25 *kilomètres*). It appears to be rather an abyss or fissure than a pond, a crack from the sides of which water trickles into a small basin in which dwells a mysterious fish, the beholding of which allows the attainment of desires. The story recalls Wordsworth's undying fish of Bow-scale Tarn. (Cf. H.S. Bomb. ed. ii, *Khatmat* p. 20 and de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* xvi, 480 and note.)

⁹ This is on maps to the north of Herī.

¹⁰ d. 232 AH. (847 AD.). See Yate, p. 93.

¹¹ Imām Fakhrū'd-dīn *Razī* (de Meynard, *Journal Asiatique* xvi, 481).

¹² d. 861 AH.—1457 AD. Guhār-shād was the wife of Tīmūr's son Shāhrukh. See Mohan Lall, p. 257 and Yate, p. 98.

Fol. 191b. New-garden, Zubaida-garden,¹ Sl. Abū-sa'id Mirzā's White-house outside the 'Irāq-gate, Pūrān,² the Archer's-seat, Chargh (hawk)-meadow, Amīr Wāhid,³ Mālān-bridge,⁴ Khwāja-tāq,⁵ White-garden, Tarab-khāna, Bāgh-i-jahān-ārā, Kūshk,⁶ Maqauwī-khāna, Lily-house, Twelve-towers, the great tank to the north of Jahān-ārā and the four dwellings on its four sides, the five Fort-gates, viz. the Malik, 'Irāq, Fīrūzābād, Khūsh⁷ and Qibchāq Gates, Chār-sū, Shaikhū'l-islām's College, Maliks' Congregational Mosque, Town-garden, Badī'ū'z-zamān Mirzā's College on the bank of the Anjil-canal, 'Alī-sher Beg's dwellings where we resided and which people call Unsiya (Ease), his tomb and mosque which they call Qudsiya (Holy), his College and Almshouse which they call Khalāsiya and Akhlāsiya (Freedom and Sincerity), his Hot-bath and Hospital which they call Ṣafā'iya and Shafā'iya. All these I visited in that space of time.

(*m. Bābur engages Ma'sūma-sultān in marriage.*)

Fol. 192. It must have been before those throneless times⁸ that Ḥabība-sultān Begīm, the mother of Sl. Aḥmad Mirzā's youngest daughter Ma'sūma-sultān Begīm, brought her daughter into Herī. One day when I was visiting my Ākā, Ma'sūma-sultān Begīm came there with her mother and at once felt arise in her a great inclination towards me. Private messengers having been sent, my Ākā and my Yīnkā, as I used to call Pāyanda-sultān Begīm and Ḥabība-sultān Begīm, settled between them that the latter should bring her daughter after me to Kābul.⁹

¹ This Marigold-garden may be named after Hārūnu'r-rashīd's wife Zubaida.

² This will be the place n. of Herī from which Maulānā Jalālu'd-dīn *Pūrānī* (d. 862 A.H.) took his cognomen, as also Shaikh Jamālu'd-dīn Abū-sa'id *Pūrānī* (f. 206) who was visited there by Sl. Ḥusain Mirzā, ill-treated by Shaibānī (f. 206), left Herī for Qandahār, and there died, through the fall of a roof, in 921 A.H. (I.I.S. iii, 345; *Khazīnatu'l-asfiya* ii, 321).

³ His tomb is dated 35 or 37 A.H. (656 or 658 A.D.; Yate, p. 94).

⁴ Mālān was a name of the Herī-rūd (*Journal Asiatique* xvi, 476, 511; Mohan Lal, p. 279; Ferrier, p. 261; etc.).

⁵ Yate, p. 94.

⁶ The position of this building between the Khūsh and Qibchāq Gates (de Meynard, l.c. p. 475) is the probable explanation of the variant, noted just below, of Kūshk for Khūsh as the name of the Gate. The *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* (p. 429), mentions this kiosk in its list of the noted ones of the world.

⁷ var. Kūshk (de Meynard, l.c. p. 472).

⁸ The reference here is, presumably, to Bābur's own losses of Samarkand and Andijān.

⁹ Ākā or Agā is used of elder relations; a *yīnkā* or *yīngā* is the wife of an uncle or elder brother; here it represents the widow of Bābur's uncle Aḥmad *Mirān-shāhī*. From it is formed the word *yīnkālik*, levirate.

(*n. Bābur leaves Khurāsān.*)

Very pressingly had Muḥ. Barandūq Beg and Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn* said, "Winter here!" but they had given me no winter-quarters nor had they made any winter-arrangements for me. Winter came on; snow fell on the mountains between us and Kābul; anxiety grew about Kābul; no winter-quarters were offered, no arrangements made! As we could not speak out, of necessity we left Herī!

On the pretext of finding winter-quarters, we got out of the town on the 7th day of the month of Sha'bān (Dec. 24th 1506 AD.), and went to near Bādghīs. Such were our slowness and our tarryings that the Ramṣān-moon was seen a few marches only beyond the Langar of Mīr Ghiyās.¹ Of our braves who were absent on various affairs, some joined us, some followed us into Kābul 20 days or a month later, some stayed in Herī and took service with the Mīrzās. One of these last was Sayyidīm 'Alī the gate-ward, who became Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā's retainer. To no servant of Khusrau Shāh had I shewn so much favour as to him; he had been given Ghaznī when Jahāngīr Mīrzā abandoned it, and in it when he came away with the army, had left his younger brother Dost-i-anjū (?) Shaikh. There were in truth no better men amongst Khusrau Shāh's retainers than this man Sayyidīm 'Alī the gate-ward and Muḥibb-i-'alī the armourer. Sayyidīm was of excellent nature and manners, a bold swordsman, a singularly competent and methodical man. His house was never without company and assembly; he was greatly generous, had wit and charm, a variety of talk and story, and was a sweet-natured, good-humoured, ingenious, fun-loving person. His fault was that he practised vice and pederasty. He may have swerved from the Faith; may also have been a hypocrite in his dealings; some of what seemed double-dealing people attributed to his jokes, but, still, there must have been a something!² When Badī'u'z-zamān Mīrzā had let Shaibāq Khān take Herī and had gone to Shāh Beg (*Arghūn*), he had Sayyidīm 'Alī thrown into the Harmand because of his double-dealing words

Fol. 192b.

¹ The almshouse or convent was founded here in Tīmūr's reign (de Meynard, l.c. p. 500).

² *i.e.* No smoke without fire.

spoken between the Mīrzā and Shāh Beg. Muhibb-i-'alī's story will come into the narrative of events hereafter to be written.

(o. *A perilous mountain-journey.*)

Fol. 193. From the Langar of Mīr Ghiyās we had ourselves guided past the border-villages of Gharjistān to Chach-charān.¹ From the almshouse to Gharjistān was an unbroken sheet of snow; it was deeper further on; near Chach-charān itself it was above the horses' knees. Chach-charān depended on Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn*; his retainer Mīr Jān-aīrdī was in it now; from him we took, on payment, the whole of Zū'n-nūn Beg's store of provisions. A march or two further on, the snow was very deep, being above the stirrup, indeed in many places the horses' feet did not touch the ground.

We had consulted at the Langar of Mīr Ghiyās which road to take for return to Kābul; most of us agreed in saying, "It is winter, the mountain-road is difficult and dangerous; the Qandahār road, though a little longer, is safe and easy." Qāsim Beg said, "That road is long; you will go by this one." As he made much dispute, we took the mountain-road.

Fol. 193b. Our guide was a Pashāi named Pīr Sulṭān (Old sultan?). Whether it was through old age, whether from want of heart, whether because of the deep snow, he lost the road and could not guide us. As we were on this route under the insistence of Qāsim Beg, he and his sons, for his name's sake, dismounted, trampled the snow down, found the road again and took the lead. One day the snow was so deep and the way so uncertain that we could not go on; there being no help for it, back we turned, dismounted where there was fuel, picked out 60 or 70 good men and sent them down the valley in our tracks to fetch any one soever of the Hazāra, wintering in the valley-bottom, who might shew us the road. That place could not be left till our men returned three or four days later. They brought no guide; once more we sent Sulṭān *Pashāi* ahead and, putting our

¹ This name may be due to the splashing of water. A Langar which may be that of Mīr Ghiyās, is shewn in maps in the Bām valley; from it into the Heri-rūd valley Bābur's route may well have been the track from that Langar which, passing the villages on the southern border of Gharjistān, goes to Ahangarān.

trust in God, again took the road by which we had come back from where it was lost. Much misery and hardship were endured in those few days, more than at any time of my life. In that stress I composed the following opening couplet :—

Is there one cruel turn of Fortune's wheel unseen of me ?
Is there a pang, a grief my wounded heart has missed ?

We went on for nearly a week, trampling down the snow and not getting forward more than two or three miles a day. I was one of the snow-stampers, with 10 or 15 of my household, Qāsim Beg, his sons Tingri-birdi and Qambar-i-'alī and two or three of their retainers. These mentioned used to go forward for 7 or 8 yards, stamping the snow down and at each step sinking to the waist or the breast. After a few steps the leading man would stand still, exhausted by the labour, and another would go forward. By the time 10, 15, 20, men on foot had stamped the snow down, it became so that a horse might be led over it. A horse would be led, would sink to the stirrups, could do no more than 10 or 12 steps, and would be drawn aside to let another go on. After we, 10, 15, 20, men had stamped down the snow and had led horses forward in this fashion, very serviceable Fol. 194. braves and men of renowned name would enter the beaten track, hanging their heads. It was not a time to urge or compel ! the man with will and hardihood for such tasks does them by his own request ! Stamping the snow down in this way, we got out of that afflicting place (*ānjūkān yir*) in three or four days to a cave known as the Khawāl-i-qūti (Blessed-cave), below the Zirrīn-pass.

That night the snow fell in such an amazing blizzard of cutting wind that every man feared for his life. The storm had become extremely violent by the time we reached the *khawāl*, as people in those parts call a mountain-cave (*ghar*) or hollow (*khāwāk*). We dismounted at its mouth. Deep snow ! a one-man road ! and even on that stamped-down and trampled road, pitfalls for horses ! the days at their shortest ! The first arrivals reached the cave by daylight ; others kept coming in from the Evening Prayer till the Bed-time one ; later than that people dismounted wherever they happened to be ; dawn shot with many still in the saddle.

Fol. 194b. The cave seeming to be rather small, I took a shovel and shovelled out a place near its mouth, the size of a sitting-mat (*takiya-namad*), digging it out breast-high but even then not reaching the ground. This made me a little shelter from the wind when I sat right down in it. I did not go into the cave though people kept saying, "Come inside," because this was in my mind, "Some of my men in snow and storm, I in the comfort of a warm house! the whole horde (*aūlūs*) outside in misery and pain, I inside sleeping at ease! That would be far from a man's act, quite another matter than comradeship! Whatever hardship and wretchedness there is, I will face; what strong men stand, I will stand; for, as the Persian proverb says, to die with friends is a nuptial." Till the Bed-time Prayer I sat through that blizzard of snow and wind in the dug-out, the snow-fall being such that my head, back, and ears were overlaid four hands thick. The cold of that night affected my ears. At the Bed-time Prayer some-one, looking more carefully at the cave, shouted out, "It is a very roomy cave with place for every-body." On hearing this I shook off my roofing of snow and, asking the braves near to come also, went inside. There was room for 50 or 60! People brought out their rations, cold meat, parched grain, whatever they had. From such cold and tumult to a place so warm, cosy and quiet!¹

Fol. 195. Next day the snow and wind having ceased, we made an early start and we got to the pass by again stamping down a road in the snow. The proper road seems to make a détour up the flank of the mountain and to go over higher up, by what is understood to be called the Zirrīn-pass. Instead of taking that road, we went straight up the valley-bottom (*qūl*).² It was night before we reached the further side of the (Bakkak-)pass; we spent the night there in the mouth of the valley, a night of

¹ This escape ought to have been included in the list of Bābur's transportations from risk to safety given in my note to f. 96.

² The right and wrong roads are shewn by the Indian Survey and French Military maps. The right road turns off from the wrong one, at Daulat-yār, to the right, and mounts diagonally along the south rampart of the Herī-rūd valley, to the Zirrīn-pass, which lies above the Bakkak-pass and carries the regular road for Yaka-aūlāng. It must be said, however, that we are not told whether Yaka-aūlāng was Qāsim Beg's objective; the direct road for Kābul from the Herī-rūd valley is not over the Zirrīn-pass but goes from Daulat-yār by "Āq-zarat", and the southern flank of Koh-i-bābā (bābār) to the Unai-pass (Holdich's *Gates of India* p. 262).

mighty cold, got through with great distress and suffering. Many a man had his hands and feet frost-bitten ; that night's cold took both Kīpa's feet, both Sīūdūk *Turkmān's* hands, both Āhr's feet. Early next morning we moved down the valley ; putting our trust in God, we went straight down, by bad slopes and sudden falls, knowing and seeing it could not be the right way. It was the Evening Prayer when we got out of that valley. No long-memoried old man knew that any-one had been heard of as crossing that pass with the snow so deep, or indeed that it had ever entered the heart of man to cross it at that time of year. Though for a few days we had suffered greatly through the depth of the snow, yet its depth, in the end, enabled us to reach our destination. For why? How otherwise should we have traversed those pathless slopes and sudden falls? Fol. 195b.

All ill, all good in the count, is gain if looked at aright !

The Yaka-aūlāng people at once heard of our arrival and our dismounting ; followed, warm houses, fat sheep, grass and horse-corn, water without stint, ample wood and dried dung for fires ! To escape from such snow and cold to such a village, to such warm dwellings, was comfort those will understand who have had our trials, relief known to those who have felt our hardships. We tarried one day in Yaka-aūlāng, happy-of-heart and easy-of-mind ; marched 2 *yīghāch* (10-12 m.) next day and dismounted. The day following was the Ramzān Feast¹ ; we went on through Bāmīān, crossed by Shibr-tū and dismounted before reaching Janglīk.

(*p. Second raid on the Turkmān Hazāras.*)

The Turkmān Hazāras with their wives and little children must have made their winter-quarters just upon our road² ; they had no word about us ; when we got in amongst their cattle-pens and tents (*alāchūq*) two or three groups of these went to ruin and plunder, the people themselves drawing off with their little children and abandoning houses and goods. News was brought from ahead that, at a place where there were narrows, Fol. 196.

¹ *circa* Feb. 14th 1507, Bābur's 24th birthday.

² The Hazāras appear to have been wintering outside their own valley, on the Ghūr-bund road, in wait for travellers [*cf.* T.R. p. 197]. They have been perennial highwaymen on the only pass to the north not closed entirely in winter.

a body of Hazāras was shooting arrows, holding up part of the army, and letting no-one pass. We, hurrying on, arrived to find no narrows at all; a few Hazāras were shooting from a naze, standing in a body on the hill ¹ like very good soldiers.²

They saw the blackness of the foe;
 Stood idle-handed and amazed;
 I arriving, went swift that way,
 Pressed on with shout, "Move on! move on!"
 I wanted to hurry my men on,
 To make them stand up to the foe.
 With a "Hurry up!" to my men,
 I went on to the front.
 Not a man gave ear to my words.
 I had no armour nor horse-mail nor arms,
 I had but my arrows and quiver.
 I went, the rest, maybe all of them, stood,
 Stood still as if slain by the foe!
 Your servant you take that you may have use
 Of his arms, of his life, the whole time;
 Not that the servant stand still
 While the beg makes advance to the front;
 Not that the servant take rest
 While his beg is making the rounds.
 From no such a servant will come
 Speed, or use in your Gate, or zest for your food.
 At last I charged forward myself,
 Herding the foe up the hill;
 Seeing me go, my men also moved,
 Leaving their terrors behind.
 With me they swift spread over the slope,
 Moving on without heed to the shaft;
 Sometimes on foot, mounted sometimes,
 Boldly we ever moved on,
 Still from the hill poured the shafts.
 Our strength seen, the foe took to flight.
 We got out on the hill; we drove the Hazāras,
 Drove them like deer by valley and ridge;
 We shot those wretches like deer;
 We shared out the booty in goods and in sheep;
 The Turkmān Hazāras' kinsfolk we took;
 We made captive their people of sorts (*garā*);
 We laid hands on their men of renown;
 Their wives and their children we took.

Fol. 196b.

¹ The Ghūr-bund valley is open in this part; the Hazāras may have been posted on the naze near the narrows leading into the Janglik and their own side valleys.

² Although the verses following here in the text are with the Turkī Codices, doubt cannot but be felt as to their authenticity. They do not fit verbally to the sentence they follow; they are a unique departure from Bābur's plain prose narrative and nothing in the small Hazāra affair shews cause for such departure; they differ from his usual topics in their bombast and comment on his men (*cf.* f. 194 for comment on shirking begs). They appear in the 2nd Persian translation (217 f. 134) in Turkī followed by a prose Persian rendering (*khalāṣa*). They are not with the 1st Pers. trs. (215 f. 159), the text of which runs on with a plain prose account suiting the size of the affair, as follows:—"The braves, seeing their (the Hazāras) good soldiering, had stopped surprised; wishing to hurry them I went swiftly past them, shouting 'Move on!'"

I myself collected a few of the Hazāras' sheep, gave them into Yārak Ṭaghāi's charge, and went to the front. By ridge and valley, driving horses and sheep before us, we went to Tīmūr Beg's Langar and there dismounted. Fourteen or fifteen Hazāra thieves had fallen into our hands; I had thought of having them put to death when we next dismounted, with various torture, as a warning to all highwaymen and robbers, but Qāsim Beg came across them on the road and, with mis- Fol. 197.
timed compassion, set them free.

To do good to the bad is one and the same
As the doing of ill to the good;
On brackish soil no spikenard grows,
Waste no seed of toil upon it.¹

Out of compassion the rest of the prisoners were released also.

(j. *Disloyalty in Kābul.*)

News came while we were raiding the Turkmān Hazāras, that Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā *Dughlāt* and Sl. Sanjar *Barlās* had drawn over to themselves the Mughūls left in Kābul, declared Mīrzā Khān (Wais) supreme (*pādshāh*), laid siege to the fort and spread a report that Badi'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā and Muḥaffar Mīrzā had sent me, a prisoner, to Fort Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn, now known as Ālā-qūrgḥān.

In command of the Kābul-fort there had been left Mullā Bābā of Pashāghar, Khalīfa, Muḥibb-i-'alī the armourer, Aḥmad-i-yūsuf and Aḥmad-i-qāsim. They did well, made the fort fast, strengthened it, and kept watch.

(k. *Bābur's advance to Kābul.*)

From Tīmūr Beg's Langar we sent Qāsim Beg's servant, Muḥ. of Andijān, a *Tuqḥāz*, to the Kābul begs, with written details of our arrival and of the following arrangements:—"When we

move on!' They paid me no attention. When, in order to help, I myself attacked, dismounting and going up the hill, they shewed courage and emulation in following. Getting to the top of the pass, we drove that band off, killing many, capturing others, making their families prisoner and plundering their goods." This is followed by "I myself collected" *etc.* as in the Turkī text after the verse. It will be seen that the above extract is not a translation of the verse; no translator or even summariser would be likely to omit so much of his original. It is just a suitably plain account of a trivial matter.

¹ *Gulistan* Cap. I. Story 4.

are out of the Ghūr-bund narrows,¹ we will fall on them suddenly ; let our signal to you be the fire we will light directly we have passed Minār-hill ; do you in reply light one in the citadel, on the old Kūshk (kiosk)," now the Treasury, "so that we may be sure you know of our coming. We will come up from our side ; you come out from yours ; neglect nothing your hands can find to do !" This having been put into writing, Muḥammad *Andijānī* was sent off.

Riding next dawn from the Langar, we dismounted over against Ushtur-shahr. Early next morning we passed the Ghūr-bund narrows, dismounted at Bridge-head, there watered and rested our horses, and at the Mid-day Prayer set forward again. Till we reached the *tūtqāwal*,² there was no snow, beyond that, the further we went the deeper the snow. The cold between Zamma-yakhshī and Minār was such as we had rarely felt in our lives.

We sent on Aḥmad the messenger (*yāsāwal*) and Qarā Aḥmad *yūrūnchī*³ to say to the begs, "Here we are at the time promised ; be ready ! be bold !" After crossing Minār-hill⁴ and dismounting on its skirt, helpless with cold, we lit fires to warm ourselves. It was not time to light the signal-fire ; we just lit these because we were helpless in that mighty cold. Near shoot of dawn we rode on from Minār-hill ; between it and Kābul the snow was up to the horses' knees and had hardened, so off the road to move was difficult. Riding single-file the whole way, we got to Kābul in good time undiscovered.⁵ Before we were at Bibī Māh-rūī (Lady Moon-face), the blaze of fire on the citadel let us know that the begs were looking out.

(*l. Attack made on the rebels.*)

On reaching Sayyid Qāsim's bridge, Sherīm Taghāī and the men of the right were sent towards Mullā Bābā's bridge, while

¹ Bābur seems to have left the Ghūr-bund valley, perhaps pursuing the Hazāras towards Janglik, and to have come "by ridge and valley" back into it for Ushtur-shahr. I have not located Timūr Beg's Langar. As has been noted already (*q.v.* index) the Ghūr-bund narrows are at the lower end of the valley ; they have been surmised to be the fissured rampart of an ancient lake.

² Here this may represent a guard- or toll-house (Index *s.n.*).

³ As *yūrūn* is a patch, the bearer of the sobriquet might be Black Aḥmad the repairing-tailor.

⁴ *Second Afghān War*, Map of Kābul and its environs.

⁵ I understand that the arrival undiscovered was a result of riding in single-file and thus shewing no black mass.

we of the left and centre took the Bābā Lūlī road. Where Khalifa's garden now is, there was then a smallish garden made by Aūlūgh Beg Mīrẓā for a Langar (almshouse); none of its trees or shrubs were left but its enclosing wall was there. In this garden Mīrẓā Khān was seated, Muḥ. Ḥusain Mīrẓā being in Aūlūgh Beg Mīrẓā's great Bāgh-i-bihisht. I had gone as far along the lane of Mullā Bābā's garden as the burial-ground when four men met us who had hurried forward into Mīrẓā Khān's quarters, been beaten, and forced to turn back. One of the four was Sayyid Qāsim Lord of the Gate, another was Qāsim Beg's son Qam̄bar-i-'alī, another was Sher-qulī the scout, another was Sl. Aḥmad *Mughūl* one of Sher-qulī's band. These four, without a "God forbid!" (*tahāshi*) had gone right into Mīrẓā Khān's quarters; thereupon he, hearing an uproar, had mounted and got away. Abū'l-ḥasan the armourer's younger brother even, Muḥ. Ḥusain by name, had taken service with Mīrẓā Khān; he had slashed at Sher-qulī, one of those four, thrown him down, and was just striking his head off, when Sher-qulī freed himself. Those four, tasters of the sword, tasters of the arrow, wounded one and all, came pelting back on us to the place mentioned. Fol. 198b.

Our horsemen, jammed in the narrow lane, were standing still, unable to move forward or back. Said I to the braves near, "Get off and force a road". Off got Nāṣir's Dost, Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī the librarian, Bābā Sher-zād (Tiger-whelp), Shāh Maḥmūd and others, pushed forward and at once cleared the way. The enemy took to flight.

We had looked for the begs to come out from the Fort but they could not come in time for the work; they only dropped in, by ones and twos, after we had made the enemy scurry off. Aḥmad-i-yūsuf had come from them before I went into the Chār-bāgh where Mīrẓā Khān had been; he went in with me, but we both turned back when we saw the Mīrẓā had gone off. Coming in at the garden-gate was Dost of Sar-i-pul, a foot-soldier I had promoted for his boldness to be Kotwāl and had left in Kābul; he made straight for me, sword in hand. I had my cuirass on but had not fastened the *gharīcha*¹ nor had I put on Fol. 199.

¹ or *gharbīcha*, which Mr. Erskine explains to be the four plates of mail, made to cover the back, front and sides; the *jība* would thus be the wadded under-coat to which they are attached.

my helm. Whether he did not recognize me because of change wrought by cold and snow, or whether because of the flurry of the fight, though I shouted "Hāi Dost ! hāi Dost !" and though Aḥmad-i-yūsuf also shouted, he, without a "God forbid !" brought down his sword on my unprotected arm. Only by God's grace can it have been that not a hairbreadth of harm was done to me.

If a sword shook the Earth from her place,
Not a vein would it cut till God wills.

It was through the virtue of a prayer I had repeated that the Great God averted this danger and turned this evil aside. That prayer was as follows :—

"O my God ! Thou art my Creator ; except Thee there is no God. On Thee do I repose my trust ; Thou art the Lord of the mighty throne. What God wills comes to pass ; and what he does not will comes not to pass ; and there is no power or strength but through the high and exalted God ; and, of a truth, in all things God is almighty ; and verily He comprehends all things by his knowledge, and has taken account of everything. O my Creator ! as I sincerely trust in Thee, do Thou seize by the forelock all evil proceeding from within myself, and all evil coming from without, and all evil proceeding from every man who can be the occasion of evil, and all such evil as can proceed from any living thing, and remove them far from me ; since, of a truth, Thou art the Lord of the exalted throne !"¹

Fol. 199b.

On leaving that garden we went to Muḥ. Ḥusain Mīrzā's quarters in the Bāgh-i-bihisht, but he had fled and gone off to hide himself. Seven or eight men stood in a breach of the garden-wall ; I spurred at them ; they could not stand ; they fled ; I got up with them and cut at one with my sword ; he rolled over in such a way that I fancied his head was off, passed on and went away ; it seems he was Mīrzā Khān's foster-brother, Tūlik Kūkūldāsh and that my sword fell on his shoulder.

At the gate of Muḥ. Ḥusain Mīrzā's quarters, a Mughūl I recognized for one of my own servants, drew his bow and aimed at my face from a place on the roof as near me as a gate-ward stands to a Gate. People on all sides shouted, "Hāi ! hāi ! it is the Pādshāh." He changed his aim, shot off his arrow and ran away. The affair was beyond the shooting of arrows ! His Mīrzā, his leaders, had run away or been taken ; why was he shooting ?

¹ This prayer is composed of extracts from the Qorān (*Méms.* i, 454 note) ; it is reproduced as it stands in Mr. Erskine's wording (p. 216).

There they brought Sl. Sanjar *Barlās*, led in by a rope round his neck ; he even, to whom I had given the Ningnahār *tūmān*, had had his part in the mutiny ! Greatly agitated, he kept crying out, “Hāi ! what fault is in me ?” Said I, “Can there be one clearer than that you are higher than the purpose and counsels of this crew ?”¹ But as he was the sister’s son of my Khān *dādā*’s mother, Shāh Begīm, I gave the order, “Do not lead him with such dishonour ; it is not death.”

On leaving that place, I sent Aḥmad-i-qasim *Kohbur*, one of the begs of the Fort, with a few braves, in pursuit of Fol. 200. Mirzā Khān.

(*m. Bābur’s dealings with disloyal women.*)

When I left the Bāgh-i-bihisht, I went to visit Shāh Begīm and (Mihr-nigār) Khānīm who had settled themselves in tents by the side of the garden.

As townspeople and black-bludgeoners had raised a riot, and were putting hands out to pillage property and to catch persons in corners and outside places, I sent men, to beat the rabble off, and had it herded right away.²

Shāh Begīm and Khānīm were seated in one tent. I dismounted at the usual distance, approached with my former deference and courtesy, and had an interview with them. They were extremely agitated, upset, and ashamed ; could neither excuse themselves reasonably³ nor make the enquiries of affection. I had not expected this (disloyalty) of them ; it was not as though that party, evil as was the position it had taken up, consisted of persons who would not give ear to the words of Shāh Begīm and Khānīm ; Mirzā Khān was the begīm’s grandson, in her presence night and day ; if she had not fallen in with the affair, she could have kept him with her.

¹ Bābur’s reference may well be to Sanjar’s birth as well as to his being the holder of Ningnahār. Sanjar’s father had been thought worthy to mate with one of the six Badakhshī begīms whose line traced back to Alexander (T.R. p. 107) ; and his father was a Barlās, seemingly of high family.

² It may be inferred that what was done was for the protection of the two women.

³ Not a bad case could have been made out for now putting a Tīmūrīd in Bābur’s place in Kābul ; viz. that he was believed captive in Heri and that Mirzā Khān was an effective *locum tenens* against the Arghūns. Ḥaidar sets down what in his eyes pleaded excuse for his father Muḥ. Ḥusain (T.R. p. 198).

Fol. 200b. Twice over when fickle Fortune and discordant Fate had parted me from throne and country, retainer and following, I, and my mother with me, had taken refuge with them and had had no kindness soever from them. At that time my younger brother (*i.e.* cousin) Mīrzā Khān and his mother Sultān-nigār Khānīm held valuable cultivated districts; yet my mother and I,—to leave all question of a district aside,—were not made possessors of a single village or a few yoke of plough-oxen.¹ Was my mother not Yūnas Khān's daughter? was I not his grandson?

In my days of plenty I have given from my hand what matched the blood-relationship and the position of whatsoever member of that (Chaghatāi) dynasty chanced down upon me. For example, when the honoured Shāh Begīm came to me, I gave her Pamghān, one of the best places in Kābul, and failed in no sort of filial duty and service towards her. Again, when Sl. Sa'īd Khān, Khān in Kāshghar, came [914 AH.] with five or six naked followers on foot, I looked upon him as an honoured guest and gave him Mandrāwar of the Lamghān *tūmāns*. Beyond this also, when Shāh Ismā'īl had killed Shaibāq Khān in Marv and I crossed over to Qūndūz (916 AH.—1511 AD.), the Andijānis, some driving their (Aūzbeq) *dāroghas* out, some making their places fast, turned their eyes to me and sent me a man; at that time I trusted those old family servants to that same Sl. Sa'īd Khān, gave him a force, made him Khān and sped him forth. Again, down to the present time (*circa* 934 AH.) I have not looked upon any member of that family who has come to me, in any other light than as a blood-relation. For example, there are now in my service Chīn-tīmūr Sultān; Aīsān-tīmūr Sultān, Tūkhtā-būghā Sultān, and Bābā Sultān;² on one and all of these I have looked with more favour than on blood-relations of my own.

I do not write this in order to make complaint; I have written the plain truth. I do not set these matters down in order to make known my own deserts; I have set down exactly what has happened. In this History I have held firmly to it that the truth should be reached in every matter, and that every

¹ *qūsh*, not even a little plough-land being given (*chand qulba dihya*, 215 f. 162).

² They were sons of Sl. Aḥmad Khān *Chaghatāi*.

act should be recorded precisely as it occurred. From this it follows of necessity that I have set down of good and bad whatever is known, concerning father and elder brother, kinsman and stranger ; of them all I have set down carefully the known virtues and defects. Let the reader accept my excuse ; let the reader pass on from the place of severity !

(*n. Letters of victory.*)

Rising from that place and going to the Chār-bāgh where Mīrzā Khān had been, we sent letters of victory to all the countries, clans, and retainers. This done, I rode to the citadel.

(*o. Arrest of rebel leaders.*)

Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā in his terror having run away into Khānīm's bedding-room and got himself fastened up in a bundle of bedding, we appointed Mīrīm Dīwān with other begs of the fort, to take control in those dwellings, capture, and bring him in. Mīrīm Dīwān said some plain rough words at Khānīm's gate, by some means or other found the Mīrzā, and brought him before me in the citadel. I rose at once to receive the Mīrzā with my usual deference, not even shewing too harsh a face. If I had had that Muḥ. Ḥusain M. cut in pieces, there was the ground for it that he had had part in base and shameful action, started and spurred on mutiny and treason. Death he deserved with one after another of varied pain and torture, but because there had come to be various connexion between us, his very sons and daughters being by my own mother's sister Khūb-nigār Khānīm, I kept this just claim in mind, let him go free, and permitted him to set out towards Khurāsān. The cowardly ingrate then forgot altogether the good I did him by the gift of his life ; he blamed and slandered me to Shaibāq Khān. Little time passed, however, before the Khān gave him his deserts by death.

Fol. 201b.

Leave thou to Fate the man who does thee wrong,
For Fate is an avenging servitor.¹

Fol. 202.

Aḥmad-i-qāsim *Kohbur* and the party of braves sent in pursuit of Mīrzā Khān, overtook him in the low hills of Qargha-yīlāq, not able even to run away, without heart or force to stir a finger! They took him, and brought him to where I sat in the north-east porch of the old Court-house. Said I to him, "Come! let's have a look at one another" (*kūrūshālīng*), but twice before he could bend the knee and come forward, he fell down through agitation. When we had looked at one another, I placed him by my side to give him heart, and I drank first of the sherbet brought in, in order to remove his fears.¹

As those who had joined him, soldiers, peasants, Mughūls and Chaghatāis,² were in suspense, we simply ordered him to remain for a few days in his elder sister's house; but a few days later he was allowed to set out for Khurāsān³ because those mentioned above were somewhat uncertain and it did not seem well for him to stay in Kābul.

(*p. Excursion to Koh-dāman.*)

After letting those two go, we made an excursion to Bārān, Chāsh-tūpa, and the skirt of Gul-i-bahār.⁴ More beautiful in

¹ Ḥaidar's opinion of Bābur at this crisis is of the more account that his own father was one of the rebels let go to the mercy of the "avenging servitor". When he writes of Bābur, as being, at a time so provoking, gay, generous, affectionate, simple and gentle, he sets before us insight and temper in tune with Kipling's "If . . ."

² Bābur's distinction, made here and elsewhere, between Chaghatāi and Mughūl touches the old topic of the right or wrong of the term "Mughūl dynasty". What he, as also Ḥaidar, allows said is that if Bābur were to describe his mother in tribal terms, he would say she was half-Chaghatāi, half-Mughūl; and that if he so described himself, he would say he was half-Tīmūrid-Turk, half-Chaghatāi. He might have called the dynasty he founded in India Turkī, might have called it Tīmūriya; he would never have called it Mughūl, after his maternal grandmother.

Ḥaidar, with imperfect classification, divides Chingiz Khān's "Mughūl horde" into Mughūls and Chaghatāis and of this Chaghatāi offshoot says that none remained in 953 A.H. (1547 A.D.) except the rulers, i.e. sons of Sī. Aḥmad Khan (T.R. 148). Manifestly there was a body of Chaghatāis with Bābur and there appear to have been many near his day in the Herī region, — 'Alī-sher *Nawā'i* the best known.

Bābur supplies directions for naming his dynasty when, as several times, he claims to rule in Hindūstān where the "Turk" had ruled (f. 233b, f. 224b, f. 225). To call his dynasty Mughūl seems to blot out the centuries, something as we should do by calling the English Teutons. If there is to be such blotting-out, Abū'l-ghāzi would allow us, by his tables of Turk descent, to go further, to the primal source of all the tribes concerned, to Turk, son of Japhet. This traditional descent is another argument against "Mughūl dynasty."

³ They went to Qandahār and there suffered great privation.

⁴ Bārān seems likely to be the Baian of some maps. Gul-i-bahār is higher up on the Panjhār road. Chāsh-tūpa will have been near-by; its name might mean *Hill of the heap of winnowed-corn*.

Spring than any part even of Kābul are the open-lands of Bārān, the plain of Chāsh-tūpa, and the skirt of Gul-i-bahār. Many sorts of tulip bloom there; when I had them counted once, it came out at 34 different kinds as [has been said].¹ This couplet has been written in praise of these places,—

Kābul in Spring is an Eden of verdure and blossom;
Matchless in Kābul the Spring of Gul-i-bahār and Bārān.

On this excursion I finished the ode,—

My heart, like the bud of the red, red rose,
Lies fold within fold aflame;
Would the breath of even a myriad Springs
Blow my heart's bud to a rose?

Fol. 202b.

In truth, few places are quite equal to these for spring-excursions, for hawking (*qūsh sālmaq*) or bird-shooting (*qūsh ātmāq*), as has been briefly mentioned in the praise and description of the Kābul and Ghaznī country.

(q. Nāṣir Mīrzā expelled from Badakhshān.)

This year the begs of Badakhshān *i.e.* Muḥammad the armourer, Mubārak Shāh, Zubair and Jahāngīr, grew angry and mutinous because of the misconduct of Nāṣir Mīrzā and some of those he cherished. Coming to an agreement together, they drew out an army of horse and foot, arrayed it on the level lands by the Kūkcha-water, and moved towards Yaftal and Rāgh, to near Khamchān, by way of the lower hills. The Mīrzā and his inexperienced begs, in their thoughtless and unobservant fashion, came out to fight them just in those lower hills. The battle-field was uneven ground; the Badakhshīs had a dense mass of men on foot who stood firm under repeated charges by the Mīrzā's horse, and returned such attack that the horsemen fled, unable to keep their ground. Having beaten the Mīrzā, the Badakhshīs plundered his dependants and connexions.

Beaten and stripped bare, he and his close circle took the road through Ishkīmish and Nārīn to Kīlā-gāhī, from there followed the Qīzil-sū up, got out on the Āb-dara road, crossed at Shibr-tū, and so came to Kābul, he with 70 or 80 followers, worn-out, naked and famished.

¹ f. 136.

Fol. 203. That was a marvellous sign of the Divine might ! Two or three years earlier the Mīrzā had left the Kābul country like a foe, driving tribes and hordes like sheep before him, reached Badakhshān and made fast its forts and valley-strongholds. With what fancy, in his mind had he marched out ? ¹ Now he was back, hanging the head of shame for those earlier misdeeds, humbled and distraught about that breach with me !

My face shewed him no sort of displeasure ; I made kind enquiry about himself, and brought him out of his confusion.

¹ Answer ; Visions of his father's sway.

913 AH.—MAY 13TH 1507 TO MAY 2ND 1508 AD.¹

(a. *Raid on the Ghiljī Afghāns.*)

We had ridden out of Kābul with the intention of over-running the Ghiljī ;² when we dismounted at Sar-i-dih news was brought that a mass of Mahmānds (Afghāns) was lying in Masht and Sih-kāna one *yīghāch* (circa 5 m.) away from us.³ Our begs and braves agreed in saying, "The Mahmānds must be over-run", but I said, "Would it be right to turn aside and raid our own peasants instead of doing what we set out to do? It cannot be."

Riding at night from Sar-i-dih, we crossed the plain of Kattawāz in the dark, a quite black night, one level stretch of land, no mountain or rising-ground in sight, no known road or track, not a man able to lead us! In the end I took the lead. I had been in those parts several times before; drawing inferences from those times, I took the Pole-star on my right shoulder-blade⁴ and, with some anxiety, moved on. God brought it right! We went straight to the Qīāq-tū and the Aulābā-tū torrent, that is to say, straight for Khwāja Ismā'il *Sirītī* where the Ghiljīs were lying, the road to which crosses the torrent named. Dismounting near the torrent, we let ourselves and our horses sleep a little, took breath, and bestirred ourselves at shoot of dawn. The Sun was up before we got out of those low hills and valley-bottoms to the plain on which the Ghiljī lay with a good *yīghāch*⁵ of

Fol. 203b.

¹ Elph. MS. f. 161; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 164 and 217 f. 139b; Mems. p. 220.

² The narrative indicates the location of the tribe, the modern Ghilzai or Ghilzi.

³ Sih-kāna lies s.e. of Shorkach, and near Kharbin. Sar-i-dih is about 25 or 30 miles s. of Ghazni (Erskine). A name suiting the pastoral wealth of the tribe *vis.* Mesh-khal, Sheep-tribe, is shewn on maps somewhat s. from Kharbin. Cf. Steingass s.n. Masht.

⁴ *yāghrūn*, whence *yāghrūnchī*, a diviner by help of the shoulder-blades of sheep. The defacer of the Elphinstone Codex has changed *yāghrūn* to *yān*, side, thus making Bābur turn his side and not his half-back to the north, altering his direction, and missing what looks like a jesting reference to his own divination of the road. The Pole Star was seen, presumably, before the night became quite black.

⁵ From the subsequent details of distance done, this must have been one of those good *yīghāch* of perhaps 5-6 miles, that are estimated by the ease of travel on level lands (Index s.v. *yīghāch*).

road between them and us; once out on the plain we could see their blackness, either their own or from the smoke of their fires.

Whether bitten by their own whim,¹ or whether wanting to hurry, the whole army streamed off at the gallop (*chāpqūn qūdīlār*); off galloped I after them and, by shooting an arrow now at a man, now at a horse, checked them after a *kuroh* or two (3 m. ?). It is very difficult indeed to check 5 or 6000 braves galloping loose-rein! God brought it right! They were checked! When we had gone about one *shar'i* (2 m.) further, always with the Afghān blackness in sight, the raid² was allowed. Masses of sheep fell to us, more than in any other raid.

After we had dismounted and made the spoils turn back,³ one body of Afghāns after another came down into the plain, provoking a fight. Some of the begs and of the household went against one body and killed every man; Nāṣir Mirzā did the same with another, and a pillar of Afghān heads was set up. An arrow pierced the foot of that foot-soldier Dost the Kotwāl who has been mentioned already;⁴ when we reached Kābul, he died.

Marching from Khwāja Ismā'il, we dismounted once more at Aulābā-tū. Some of the begs and of my own household were ordered to go forward and carefully separate off the Fifth (*Khums*) of the enemy's spoils. By way of favour, we did not take the Fifth from Qāsim Beg and some others.⁵ From what

Fol. 204.

¹ I am uncertain about the form of the word translated by "whim". The Elph. and Hai. Codices read *khūd d:lma* (altered in the first to *y:lma*); Ilminsky (p. 257) reads *khūd l:ma* (de C. ii, 2 and note); Erskine has been misled by the Persian translation (215 f. 164b and 217 f. 139b). Whether *khūd-dilma* should be read, with the sense of "out of their own hearts" (spontaneously), or whether *khūd-yalma*, own pace (Turki, *yalma*, pace) the contrast made by Bābur appears to be between an unpremeditated gallop and one premeditated for haste. Persian *dalama*, tarantula, also suggests itself.

² *chāpqūn*, which is the word translated by gallop throughout the previous passage. The Turki verb *chāpmāq* is one of those words-of-all-work for which it is difficult to find a single English equivalent. The verb *qūmāq* is another; in its two occurrences here the first may be a metaphor from the pouring of molten metal; the second expresses that permission to gallop off for the raid without which to raid was forbidden. The root-notion of *qūmāq* seems to be letting-go, that of *chāpmāq*, rapid motion.

³ i.e. on the raiders' own road for Kābul.

⁴ f. 198b.

⁵ The Fifth taken was manifestly at the ruler's disposition. In at least two places when dependants send gifts to Bābur the word [*tassaduq*] used might be rendered as "gifts for the poor". Does this mean that the *pādshāh* in receiving this stands in the place of the Imām of the Qorān injunction which orders one-fifth of spoil to be given to the Imām for the poor, orphans, and travellers,—four-fifths being reserved for the troops? (Qorān, Sale's ed. 1825, i, 212 and Hidāyat, Book ix).

was written down,¹ the Fifth came out at 16,000, that is to say, this 16,000 was the fifth of 80,000 sheep; no question however but that with those lost and those not asked for, a *lak* (100,000) of sheep had been taken.

(b. *A hunting-circle.*)

Next day when we had ridden from that camp, a hunting-circle was formed on the plain of Kattawāz where deer (*kīyīk*)² and wild-ass are always plentiful and always fat. Masses went into the ring; masses were killed. During the hunt I galloped after a wild-ass, on getting near shot one arrow, shot another, but did not bring it down, it only running more slowly for the two wounds. Spurring forwards and getting into position³ quite close to it, I chopped at the nape of its neck behind the ears, and cut through the wind-pipe; it stopped, turned over and died. My sword cut well! The wild-ass was surprisingly fat. Its rib may have been a little under one yard in length. Sherīm Ṭaghāī and other observers of *kīyīk* in Mughūlistān said with surprise, "Even in Mughūlistān we have seen few *kīyīk* so fat!" I shot another wild-ass; most of the wild-asses and deer brought down in that hunt were fat, but not one of them was so fat as the one I first killed.

Turning back from that raid, we went to Kābul and there dismounted.

(c. *Shaibāq Khān moves against Khurāsān.*)

Shaibāq Khān had got an army to horse at the end of last year, meaning to go from Samarkand against Khurāsān, his march out being somewhat hastened by the coming to him of a servant of that vile traitor to his salt, Shāh Maṣṣūr the Paymaster, then in Andikhūd. When the Khān was approaching Andikhūd, that vile wretch said, "I have sent a man to the Aūzbeg," relied on this, adorned himself, stuck up an aigrette on his head, and went out, bearing gift and tribute. On this the leaderless⁴ Aūzbegs poured down on him from all sides, and

Fol. 204b.

¹ This may be the sum of the separate items of sheep entered in account-books by the commissaries.

² Here this comprehensive word will stand for deer, these being plentiful in the region.

³ Three Turkī MSS. write *siḡhīnīb*, but the Elph. MS. has had this changed to *yīlīb*, having reached.

⁴ *bāsh-sīz*, lit. without head, doubtless a pun on Aūz-beg (own beg, leaderless). B.M. Or. 3714 shows an artist's conception of this *tart-part*.

turned upside down (*tart-part*) the blockhead, his offering and his people of all sorts.

(*d. Irresolution of the Khurāsān Mīrzās.*)

Badi'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā, Muẓaffar Mīrzā, Muḥ. Barandūq *Barlās* and Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn* were all lying with their army in Bābā Khākī,¹ not decided to fight, not settled to make (Herī) fort fast, there they sat, confounded, vague, uncertain what to do. Muḥammad Barandūq *Barlās* was a knowledgeable man; he kept saying, "You let Muẓaffar Mīrzā and me make the fort fast; let Badi'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā and Zū'n-nūn Beg go into the mountains near Herī and gather in Sl. 'Alī *Arghūn* from Sīstān and Zamīn-dāwar, Shāh Beg and Muqīm from Qandahār with all their armies, and let them collect also what there is of Nikdīrī and Hazāra force; this done, let them make a swift and telling move. The enemy would find it difficult to go into the mountains, and could not come against the (Herī) fort because he would be afraid of the army outside." He said well, his plan was practical.

Brave though Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn* was, he was mean, a lover-of-goods, far from businesslike or judicious, rather shallow-pated, and a bit of a fool. As has been mentioned,² when that elder and that younger brother became joint-rulers in Herī, he had chief authority in Badi'ū'z-zamān Mīrzā's presence. He was not willing now for Muḥ. Barandūq Beg to remain inside Herī town; being the lover-of-goods he was, he wanted to be there himself. But he could not make this seem one and the same thing!³ Is there a better sign of his shallow-pate and craze than that he degraded himself and became contemptible by accepting the lies and flattery of rogues and sycophants? Here are the particulars⁴:—While he was so dominant and trusted in Herī, certain Shaikhs and Mullās went to him and said, "The Spheres are holding commerce with us; you are styled *Hizabru'l-lāh* (Lion of God); you will overcome the Aūzbeg." Believing

¹ Bābā Khākī is a fine valley, some 13 *yighāch* e. of Herī (f. 13) where the Herī sultāns reside in the heats (*J. Asiatique* xvi, 501, de Meynard's article; H.S. iii, 356).

² f. 172b.

³ *aūkhshātā al-mādāt*. This is one of many passages which Ilminsky indicates he has made good by help of the Memoirs (p. 261; *Mémoires* ii, 6).

⁴ They are given also on f. 172.

these words, he put his bathing-cloth round his neck and gave thanks. It was through this he did not accept Muḥammad Barandūq Beg's sensible counsel, did not strengthen the works (*aish*) of the fort, get ready fighting equipment, set scout or rearward to warn of the foe's approach, or plan out such method of array that, should the foe appear, his men would fight with ready heart.

(*e. Shaibāq Khān takes Herī.*)

Shaibāq Khān passed through Murgh-āb to near Sīr-kāī¹ in the month of Muḥarram (913 AH. May-June 1507 AD.). When the Mīrzās heard of it, they were altogether upset, could not act, collect troops, array those they had. Dreamers, they moved through a dream!² Zū'n-nūn *Arghūn*, made glorious by that flattery, went out to Qarā-rabāt, with 100 to 150 men, to face 40,000 to 50,000 Aūzbegs: a mass of these coming up, hustled his off, took him, killed him and cut off his head.³ Fol. 205b.

In Fort Ikhtiyāru'd-dīn, it is known as Ālā-qūrghān,⁴ were the Mīrzās' mothers, elder and younger sisters, wives and treasure. The Mīrzās reached the town at night, let their horses rest till midnight, slept, and at dawn flung forth again. They could not think about strengthening the fort; in the respite and crack of time there was, they just ran away,⁵ leaving mother, sister, wife and little child to Aūzbek captivity.

What there was of Sī. Ḥusain Mīrzā's *ḥaram*, Pāyanda-sultān Begīm and Khadīja Begīm at the head of it, was inside Ālā-qūrghān; there too were the *ḥarams* of Badī'u'z-zamān

¹ This may be Sirakhs or Sirakhsh (Erskine).

² *Tūshīq tūshdīn yūrātī bīrūrār.* At least two meanings can be given to these words. Circumstances seem to exclude the one in which the *Memoirs* (p. 222) and *Mémoires* (ii, 7) have taken them here, *viz.* "each man went off to shift for himself", and "chacun s'en alla de son côté et s'enfuit comme il put", because Zū'n-nūn did not go off, and the Mīrzās broke up after his defeat. I therefore suggest another reading, one prompted by the Mīrzās' vague fancies and dreams of what they might do, but did not.

³ The encounter was between "Belāq-i-marāl and Rabāt-i-'alī-sher, near Bādghīs" (Raverty's *Notes* p. 580). For particulars of the taking of Herī see H.S. iii, 353.

⁴ One may be the book-name, the second the name in common use, and due to the colour of the buildings. But Bābur may be making an ironical jest, and nickname the fort by a word referring to the defilement (*ālā*) of Aūzbek possession. (Cf. H.S. iii, 359.)

⁵ Mr. Erskine notes that Badī'u'z-zamān took refuge with Shāh Ismā'il *Ṣafawī* who gave him Tabriz. When the Turkish Emperor Sālim took Tabriz in 920 AH. (1514 AD.), he was taken prisoner and carried to Constantinople, where he died in 923 AH. (1517 AD.).

Fol. 206.

Mīrzā¹ and Muẓaffar Mīrzā with their little children, treasure, and households (*biyutāt*). What was desirable for making the fort fast had not been done; even braves to reinforce it had not arrived. 'Āshiq-i-muḥammad *Arghūn*, the younger brother of Mazīd Beg, had fled from the army on foot and gone into it; in it was also Amīr 'Umar Beg's son 'Alī Khān (*Turkmān*); Shaikh 'Abdu'l-lāh the taster was there; Mīrzā Beg *Kāi-khusraūi* was there; and Mīrak *Gūr* (or *Kūr*) the Dīwān was there.

When Shaibāq Khān arrived two or three days later; the Shaikhū'l-islām and notables went out to him with the keys of the outer-fort. That same 'Āshiq-i-muḥammad held Ālā-qūrgḥān for 16 or 17 days; then a mine, run from the horse-market outside, was fired and brought a tower down; the garrison lost heart, could hold out no longer, so let the fort be taken.

(*f. Shaibāq Khān in Heri.*)

Shaibāq Khān, after taking Heri,² behaved badly not only to the wives and children of its rulers but to every person soever. For the sake of this five-days' fleeting world, he earned himself a bad name. His first improper act and deed in Heri was that, for the sake of this rotten world (*chirk dunyā*), he caused Khadija Begīm various miseries, through letting the vile wretch Pay-master Shāh Manṣūr get hold of her to loot. Then he let 'Abdu'l-wahhāb *Mughūl* take to loot a person so saintly and so revered as Shaikh Pūrān, and each one of Shaikh Pūrān's children be taken by a separate person. He let the band of poets be seized by Mullā Banā'i, a matter about which this verse is well-known in Khurāsān:—

Except 'Abdu'l-lāh the stupid fool (*kīr-khar*),
Not a poet to-day sees the colour of gold;
From the poets' band Banā'i would get gold,
All he will get is *kīr-khar*.³

Fol. 206b.

¹ In the fort were his wife Kābuli Begīm, d. of Aūlūgh Beg M. *Kābuli* and Ruqaiya Āghā, known as the Nightingale. A young daughter of the Mīrzā, named the Rose-bud (*Chūchak*), had died just before the siege. After the surrender of the fort, Kābuli Begīm was married by Mīrzā Kūkūldāsh (perhaps 'Āshiq-i-muḥammad *Arghūn*); Ruqaiya by Tīmūr Sh. *Ausbeg* (H.S. iii, 359).

² The *Khutba* was first read for Shaibāq Khān in Heri on Friday Muḥarram 15th 913 A.H. (May 27th 1507 A.D.).

³ There is a Persian phrase used when a man engages in an unprofitable undertaking *Kīr-i-khar gerift*, i.e. *Asini nervum deprehendit* (Erskine). The H.S. does not

Directly he had possession of Herī, Shaibāq Khān married and took Muẓaffar Mīrzā's wife, Khān-zāda Khānīm, without regard to the running-out of the legal term.¹ His own illiteracy not forbidding, he instructed in the exposition of the Qoran, Qāzī Ikhtiyār and Muḥammad Mīr Yūsuf, two of the celebrated and highly-skilled mullās of Herī; he took a pen and corrected the hand-writing of Mullā Sl. 'Alī of Mashhad and the drawing of Bih-zād; and every few days, when he had composed some tasteless couplet, he would have it read from the pulpit, hung in the Chār-sū [Square], and for it accept the offerings of the towns-people!² Spite of his early-rising, his not neglecting the Five Prayers, and his fair knowledge of the art of reciting the Qorān, there issued from him many an act and deed as absurd, as impudent, and as heathenish as those just named.

(*g. Death of two Mīrzās.*)

Ten or fifteen days after he had possession of Herī, Shaibāq Khān came from Kahd-stān³ to Pul-i-sālār. From that place he sent Tīmūr Sl. and 'Ubaid Sl. with the army there present, against Abū'l-muḥsin Mīrzā and Kūpuk (Kīpik) Mīrzā then seated carelessly in Mashhad. The two Mīrzās had thought at one time of making Qalāt⁴ fast; at another, this after they had had news of the approach of the Aūzbeg, they were for moving on Shaibāq Khān himself, by forced marches and along a different

mention Banā'ī as fleeing the poets but has much to say about one Maulānā 'Abdu'r-raḥīm a Turkistānī favoured by Shaibānī, whose victim Khwānd-amīr was, amongst many others. Not infrequently where Bābur and Khwānd-amīr state the same fact, they accompany it by varied details, as here (H.S. iii, 358, 360).

¹ *'adat.* Muḥammadan Law fixes a term after widowhood or divorce within which re-marriage is unlawful. Light is thrown upon this re-marriage by H.S. iii, 359. The passage, a somewhat rhetorical one, gives the following details:—"On coming into Herī on Muḥarram 11th, Shaibānī at once set about gathering in the property of the Tīmūrids. He had the wives and daughters of the former rulers brought before him. The great lady Khān-zāda Begīm (f. 1636) who was daughter of Aḥmad Khān, niece of Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā, and wife of Muẓaffar Mīrzā, shewed herself pleased in his presence. Desiring to marry him, she said Muẓaffar M. had divorced her two years before. Trustworthy persons gave evidence to the same effect, so she was united to Shaibānī in accordance with the glorious Law. Mihr-angez Begīm, Muẓaffar M.'s daughter, was married to 'Ubaidu'llāh Sl. (*Aūzbeg*); the rest of the chaste ladies having been sent back into the city, Shaibānī resumed his search for property." Manifestly Bābur did not believe in the divorce Khwānd-amīr thus records.

² A sarcasm this on the acceptance of literary honour from the illiterate.

³ f. 191 and note; Pul-i-sālār may be an irrigation-dam.

⁴ Qalāt-i-nādirī, the birth-place of Nādir Shāh, n. of Mashhad and standing on very strong ground (Erskine).

Fol. 207. road,¹—which might have turned out an amazingly good idea ! But while they sit still there in Mashhad with nothing decided, the Sultāns arrive by forced marches. The Mirzās for their part array and go out ; Abū'l-muḥsin Mirzā is quickly overcome and routed ; Kūpuk Mirzā charges his brother's assailants with somewhat few men ; him too they carry off ; both brothers are dismounted and seated in one place ; after an embrace (*qūchūsh*), they kiss farewell ; Abū'l-muḥsin shews some want of courage ; in Kūpuk Mirza it all makes no change at all. The heads of both are sent to Shaibāq Khān in Pul-i-sālār.

(*h. Bābur marches for Qandahār.*)

In those days Shāh Beg and his younger brother Muḥammad Muqīm, being afraid of Shaibāq Khān, sent one envoy after another to me with dutiful letters (*'arz-dāsh*), giving sign of amity and good-wishes. Muqīm, in a letter of his own, explicitly invited me. For us to look on at the Aūzbeḡ over-running the whole country, was not seemly ; and as by letters and envoys, Shāh Beg and Muqīm had given me invitation, there remained little doubt they would wait upon me.² When all begs and counsellors had been consulted, the matter was left at this:—We were to get an army to horse, join the Arghūn begs and decide in accord and agreement with them, whether to move into Khurāsān or elsewhere as might seem good.

(*i. In Ghaznī and Qalāt-i-ghilzāi.*)

Fol. 207b. Ḥabība-sultān Begīm, my aunt (*yīnkā*) as I used to call her, met us in Ghaznī, having come from Herī, according to arrangement, in order to bring her daughter Maṣ'ūma-sultān Begīm. With the honoured Begīm came Khusrāu Kūkūldāsh, Sl. Qulī *Chūnāq* (One-eared) and Gadāi *Balāl* who had returned to me

¹ This is likely to be the road passing through the Carfax of Rabāṭ-i-sangbast, described by Daulat-shāh (Browne, p. 176).

² This will mean that the Arghūns would acknowledge his suzerainty ; Haidar Mirzā however says that Shāh Beg had higher views (T.R. p. 202). There had been earlier negotiations between Zū'n-nūn with Badī'u'z-zamān and Bābur which may have led to the abandonment of Bābur's expedition in 911 A.D. (f. 158 ; H.S. iii, 323 ; Raverty's account (*Notes* p. 581-2) of Bābur's dealings with the Arghūn chiefs needs revision).

after flight from Herī, first to Ibn-i-ḥusain Mīrzā then to Abū'l-muḥsin Mīrzā,¹ with neither of whom they could remain.

In Qalāt the army came upon a mass of Hindūstān traders, come there to traffic and, as it seemed, unable to go on. The general opinion about them was that people who, at a time of such hostilities, are coming into an enemy's country² must be plundered. With this however I did not agree; said I, "What is the traders' offence? If we, looking to God's pleasure, leave such scrapings of gain aside, the Most High God will apportion our reward. It is now just as it was a short time back when we rode out to raid the Ghiljī; many of you then were of one mind to raid the Mahmand Afghāns, their sheep and goods, their wives and families, just because they were within five miles of you! Then as now I did not agree with you. On the very next day the Most High God apportioned you more sheep belonging to Afghān enemies, than had ever before fallen to the share of the army." Something by way of *peshkash* (offering) was taken from each trader when we dismounted on the other side of Qalāt.

(j. *Further march south.*)

Beyond Qalāt two Mīrzās joined us, fleeing from Qandahār. One was Mīrzā Khān (Wais) who had been allowed to go into Khurāsān after his defeat at Kābul. The other was 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mīrzā who had stayed on in Khurāsān when I left. With them came and waited on me the mother of Jahāngīr Mīrzā's son Pīr-i-muḥammad, a grandson of Pahār Mīrzā.³ Fol. 208.

(k. *Behaviour of the Arghūn chiefs.*)

When we sent persons and letters to Shāh Beg and Muqīm, saying, "Here we are at your word; a stranger-foe like the

¹ They will have gone first to Tūn or Qāin, thence to Mashhad, and seem likely to have joined the Begīm after cross-cutting to avoid Herī.

² *yāghū wilāyatī-ghā kilādūrghān*. There may have been an accumulation of caravans on their way to Herāt, checked in Qalāt by news of the Aūzbeq conquest.

³ Jahāngīr's son, thus brought by his mother, will have been an infant; his father had gone back last year with Bābur by the mountain road and had been left, sick and travelling in a litter, with the baggage when Bābur hurried on to Kābul at the news of the mutiny against him (f. 197); he must have died shortly afterwards, seemingly between the departure of the two rebels from Kābul (f. 201b-202) and the march out for Qandahār. Doubtless his widow now brought her child to claim his uncle Bābur's protection.

Aūzbeḡ has taken Khurāsān ; come ! let us settle, in concert and amity, what will be for the general good," they returned a rude and ill-mannered answer, going back from the dutiful letters they had written and from the invitations they had given. One of their incivilities was that Shāh Beg stamped his letter to me in the middle of its reverse, where begs seal if writing to begs, where indeed a great beg seals if writing to one of the lower circle.¹ But for such ill-manners and his rude answers, his affair would never have gone so far as it did, for, as they say,—

A strife-stirring word will accomplish the downfall of an ancient line.

By these their headstrong acts they gave to the winds house, family, and the hoards of 30 to 40 years.

One day while we were near Shahr-i-ṣafā² a false alarm being given in the very heart of the camp, the whole army was made to arm and mount. At the time I was occupied with a bath and purification; the begs were much flurried; I mounted when I was ready; as the alarm was false, it died away after a time.

March by march we moved on to Guzar.³ There we tried again to discuss with the Arghūns but, paying no attention to us, they maintained the same obstinate and perverse attitude. Certain well-wishers who knew the local land and water, represented to me, that the head of the torrents (*rūdllār*) which come down to Qandahār, being towards Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl and Khalishak,⁴ a move ought to be made in that direction, in order

¹ Persians pay great attention in their correspondence not only to the style but to the kind of paper on which a letter is written, the place of signature, the place of the seal, and the situation of the address. Chardin gives some curious information on the subject (Erskine). Bābur marks the distinction of rank he drew between the Arghūn chiefs and himself when he calls their letter to him, '*arz-dāshī*, his to them *khaff*. His claim to suzerainty over those chiefs is shewn by Haidar Mirzā to be based on his accession to Tīmūrid headship through the downfall of the Bāi-qarās, who had been the acknowledged suzerains of the Arghūns now repudiating Bābur's claim. Cf. Erskine's *History of India* i, cap. 3.

² on the main road, some 40 miles east of Qandahār.

³ var. Kūr or Kawar. If the word mean *ford*, this might well be the one across the Tarnak carrying the road to Qarā (maps). Here Bābur seems to have left the main road along the Tarnak, by which the British approach was made in 1880 AD., for one crossing west into the valley of the Argand-āb.

⁴ Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl is the Bābā Wali of maps. The same saint has given his name here, and also to his shrine east of Atak where he is known as Bābā Wali of Qandahār. The torrents mentioned are irrigation off-takes from the Argand-āb, which river flows between Bābā Wali and Khalishak. Shāh Beg's force was south of the torrents (cf. Murghān-koh on S.A.W. map).

to cut off (*yīg māq*) all those torrents.¹ Leaving the matter there, we next day made our men put on their mail, arrayed in right and left, and marched for Qandahār.

(1. *Battle of Qandahār.*)

Shāh Beg and Muqīm had seated themselves under an awning which was set in front of the naze of the Qandahār-hill where I am now having a rock-residence cut out.² Muqīm's men pushed forward amongst the trees to rather near us. Tūfān *Arghūn* had fled to us when we were near Shahr-i-ṣafā; he now betook himself alone close up to the Arghūn array to where one named 'Ashaqu'l-lāh was advancing rather fast leading 7 or 8 men. Alone, Tūfān *Arghūn* faced him, slashed swords with him, unhorsed him, cut off his head and brought it to me as we were passing Sang-i-lakhshak;³ an omen we accepted! Not thinking it well to fight where we were, amongst suburbs and trees, we went on along the skirt of the hill. Just as we had settled on ground for the camp, in a meadow on the Qandahār side of the torrent,⁴ opposite Khalishak, and were dismounting, Sher Quli the scout hurried up and represented that the enemy was arrayed to fight and on the move towards us. Fol. 209.

As on our march from Qalāt the army had suffered much from hunger and thirst, most of the soldiers on getting near Khalishak scattered up and down for sheep and cattle, grain

¹ The narrative and plans of *Second Afghan War* (Murray 1908) illustrate Bābur's movements and show most of the places he names. The end of the 280 mile march, from Kābul to within sight of Qandahār, will have stirred in the General of 1507 what it stirred in the General of 1880. Lord Roberts speaking in May 1913 in Glasgow on the rapid progress of the movement for National Service thus spoke:—"A memory comes over me which turns misgiving into hope and apprehension into confidence. It is the memory of the morning when, accompanied by two of Scotland's most famous regiments, the Seaforth's and the Gordons, at the end of a long and arduous march, *I saw in the distance the walls and minarets of Qandahar, and knew that the end of a great resolve and a great task was near.*"

² *mīn tāsh 'imārāt qāsdūrghān tūmshūghī-nīng alūdā*; 215 f. 168b, '*imārātī kah az sang yak pāra farmūda būdim*'; 217 f. 143b, *jāy kah man 'imārātī sākhтам*; Mems. p. 226, where I have built a palace; *Méms. ii, 15, l'endroit même où j'ai bâti un palais*. All the above translations lose the sense of *qāsdūrghān*, am causing to dig out, to quarry stone. Perhaps for coolness' sake the dwelling was cut out in the living rock. That the place is south-west of the main *arīqs*, near Murghān-koh or on it, Bābur's narrative allows. Cf. Appendix J.

³ *sic*, Hai. MS. There are two Lakhshas, Little Lakhsha, a mile west of Qandahār, and Great Lakhsha, about a mile s.w. of Old Qandahār, 5 or 6 m. from the modern one (Erskine).

⁴ This will be the main irrigation channel taken off from the Argand-āb (Maps).

and eatables. Without looking to collect them, we galloped off. Our force may have been 2000 in all, but perhaps not over 1000 were in the battle because those mentioned as scattering up and down could not rejoin in time to fight.

Though our men were few I had them organized and posted on a first-rate plan and method; I had never arrayed them before by such a good one. For my immediate command (*khāṣa tābīn*) I had selected braves from whose hands comes work¹ and had inscribed them by tens and fifties, each ten and each fifty under a leader who knew the post in the right or left of the centre for his ten or his fifty, knew the work of each in the battle, and was there on the observant watch; so that, after mounting, the right and left, right and left hands, right and left sides, charged right and left without the trouble of arraying them or the need of a *tawāchī*.²

Fol. 209b.

(Author's note on his terminology.) Although *barānghār*, *aūng qūl*, *aūng yān* and *aūng* (right wing, right hand, right side and right) all have the same meaning, I have applied them in different senses in order to vary terms and mark distinctions. As, in the battle-array, the (Ar.) *maimana* and *maisara* i.e. what people call (Turki) *barānghār* and *jawānghār* (r. and l. wings) are not included in the (Ar.) *qalb*, i.e. what people call (T.) *ghūl* (centre), so it is in arraying the centre itself. Taking the array of the centre only, its (Ar.) *yamīn* and *yasār* (r. and l.) are called (by me) *aūng qūl* and *sūl qūl* (r. and l. hands). Again,—the (Ar.) *khāṣa tābīn* (royal troop) in the centre has its *yamīn* and *yasār* which are called (by me) *aūng yān* and *sūl yān* (r. and l. sides, T. *yān*). Again,—in the *khāṣa tābīn* there is the (T.) *būī* (*nūng*) *iḥīnī* (close circle); its *yamīn* and *yasār* are called *sūng* and *sūl*. In the Turki tongue they call one single thing a *būī*,³ but that is not the *būī* meant here; what is meant here is close (*yāqīn*).

The right wing (*barānghār*) was Mīrzā Khān (Wais), Sherīm Ṭaghāī, Yārak Ṭaghāī with his elder and younger brethren, Chilma *Mughūl*, Ayūb Beg, Muḥammad Beg, Ibrāhīm Beg, 'Alī Sayyid *Mughūl* with his *Mughūls*, Sī. Qulī *chuhra*, Khudā-bakhsh and Abū'l-ḥasan with his elder and younger brethren.

The left (*jawānghār*) was 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mīrzā, Qāsim Beg, Tingrī-birdi, Qamḥar-i-'alī, Aḥmad *Aīlchī-būghā*, Ghūrī *Barlās*, Sayyid Ḥusain Akbar, and Mīr Shāh *Qūchin*.

¹ *tamām aīlchīdīn—āīsh-kīlūr yīkītlār*, an idiomatic phrase used of 'Alī-dost (f. 14b and n.), not easy to express by a single English adjective.

² The *tawāchī* was a sort of adjutant who attended to the order of the troops and carried orders from the general (Erskine). The difficult passage following gives the Turki terms Bābur selected to represent Arabic military ones.

³ Ar. *ahad* (*īl-yīn-i-akbarī*, Blochmann, index s.n.). The word *būī* recurs in the text on f. 210.

The advance (*airāwal*) was Nāṣir Mīrzā, Sayyid Qāsim Lord of the Gate, Muḥibb-i-‘alī the armourer, Pāpā Aūghulī (Pāpā’s son?), Allāh-wairan *Turkmān*, Sher Qulī *Mughūl* the scout with his elder and younger brethren, and Muḥammad ‘Alī.

In the centre (*ghūl*), on my right hand, were Qāsim Kūkūldāsh, Khusrau Kūkūldāsh, Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi*, Shāh Maḥmūd the secretary, Qūl-i-bāyazīd the taster, and Kamāl the sherbet-server; on my left were Khwāja Muḥammad ‘Alī, Nāṣir’s Dost, Nāṣir’s Mīrim, Bābā Sher-zād, Khān-qulī, Walī the treasurer, Qūtlūq-qadam the scout, Maqsūd the water-bearer (*sū-chī*), and Bābā Shaikh. Those in the centre were all of my household; there were no great begs; not one of those enumerated had reached the rank of beg. Those inscribed in this *būi*¹ were Sher Beg, Ḥātim the Armoury-master, Kūpuk, Qulī Bābā, Abū’l-ḥasan the armourer;—of the Mughūls, Aūrūs (Russian) ‘Alī Sayyid,² Darwish-i-‘alī Sayyid, Khūsh-kildī, Chilma, Dost-kildī, Chilma *Tāghchī*, Dāmāchī, Mindī;—of the Turkmāns, Manṣūr, Rustam-i-‘alī with his elder and younger brother, and Shāh Nāṣir and Sīūdūk. Fol. 210.

The enemy was in two divisions, one under Shāh Shujā‘ *Arghūn*, known as Shāh Beg and hereafter to be written of simply as Shāh Beg, the other under his younger brother Muqīm.

Some estimated the dark mass of Arghūns³ at 6 or 7000 men; no question whatever but that Shāh Beg’s own men in mail were 4 or 5000. He faced our right, Muqīm with a force smaller may-be than his brother’s, faced our left. Muqīm made a mightily strong attack on our left, that is on Qāsim Beg from whom two or three persons came before fighting began, to ask for reinforcement; we however could not detach a man because in front of us also the enemy was very strong. We made our onset without any delay; the enemy fell suddenly on our van, turned it back and rammed it on our centre. When we, after a discharge of arrows, advanced, they, who also had been Fol. 210b.

¹ i.e. the *būi tikiñi* of f. 209b, the *khāṣa tāhīn*, close circle.

² As Mughūls seem unlikely to be descendants of Muḥammad, perhaps the title Sayyid in some Mughūl names here, may be a translation of a Mughūl one meaning Chief.

³ *Arghūn-nīng qarāsī*, a frequent phrase.

shooting for a time, seemed likely to make a stand (*tūkhtaghān-dik*). Some-one, shouting to his men, came forward towards me, dismounted and was for adjusting his arrow, but he could do nothing because we moved on without stay. He remounted and rode off; it may have been Shāh Beg himself. During the fight Pīrī Beg *Turkmān* and 4 or 5 of his brethren turned their faces from the foe and, turban in hand,¹ came over to us.

(*Author's note on Pīrī Beg.*) This Pīrī Beg was one of those Turkumāns who came [into Herī] with the Turkumān Begs led by 'Abdu'l-bāqī Mirzā and Murād Beg, after Shāh Ismā'īl vanquished the Bāyandar sultāns and seized the 'Irāq countries.²

Fol. 211. Our right was the first to overcome the foe; it made him hurry off. Its extreme point had gone pricking (*sānjālīb*)³ as far as where I have now laid out a garden. Our left extended as far as the great tree-tangled⁴ irrigation-channels, a good way below Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl. Muqīm was opposite it, its numbers very small compared with his. God brought it right! Between it and Muqīm were three or four of the tree-tangled water-channels going on to Qandahār;⁵ it held the crossing-place and allowed no passage; small body though it was, it made splendid stand and kept its ground. Ḥalwāchī Tarkhān⁶ slashed away in the water with Tīngri-birdi and Qambar-i-'alī. Qambar-i-'alī was wounded; an arrow stuck in Qāsim Beg's forehead; another struck Ghūrī *Barlās* above the eyebrow and came out above his cheek.⁷

We meantime, after putting our adversary to flight, had crossed those same channels towards the naze of Murghān-koh (Birds'-hill). Some-one on a grey *tipūchāq* was going backwards and forwards irresolutely along the hill-skirt, while we

¹ in sign of submission.

² f. 176. It was in 908 A.H. [1502 AD.].

³ This word seems to be from *sānjmāq*, to prick or stab; and here to have the military sense of *prick*, *viz.* riding forth. The Second Pers. trs. (217 f. 144b) translates it by *ghauta khūrda raft*, went tasting a plunge under water (215 f. 170; Muḥ. *Shīrāzi*'s lith. ed. p. 133). Erskine (p. 228), as his Persian source dictates, makes the men sink into the soft ground; de Courteille varies much (ii, 21).

⁴ Ar. *akhamail*, so translated under the known presence of trees; it may also imply soft ground (Lane p. 813 col. b) but soft ground does not suit the purpose of *arīqs* (channels), the carrying on of water to the town.

⁵ The S.A.W. map is useful here.

⁶ That he had a following may be inferred.

⁷ Hai. MS. *qāchār*; Ilminsky, p. 268; and both Pers. trss. *rukhsār* or *rukhsāra* (f. 25 and note to *qāchār*).

were getting across ; I likened him to Shāh Beg ; seemingly it was he.

Our men having beaten their opponents, all went off to pursue and unhorse them. Remained with me eleven to count, 'Abdu'l-lāh the librarian being one. Muqīm was still keeping his ground and fighting. Without a glance at the fewness of our men, we had the nagarets sounded and, putting our trust in God, moved with face set for Muqīm.

(Turki) For few or for many God is full strength ;
No man has might in His Court.

(Arabic) How often, God willing it, a small force has vanquished a large one !

Learning from the nagarets that we were approaching, Muqīm forgot his fixed plan and took the road of flight. God brought it right !

After putting our foe to flight, we moved for Qandahār and dismounted in Farrukh-zād Beg's Chār-bāgh, of which at this time not a trace remains !

(*m. Bābur enters Qandahār.*)

Fol. 211b.

Shāh Beg and Muqīm could not get into Qandahār when they took to flight ; Shāh Beg went towards Shāl and Mastūng (Quetta), Muqīm towards Zamīn-dāwar. They left no-one able to make the fort fast. Aḥmad 'Alī Tarkhān was in it together with other elder and younger brethren of Qulī Beg *Arghūn* whose attachment and good-feeling for me were known. After parley they asked protection for the families of their elder and younger brethren ; their request was granted and all mentioned were encompassed with favour. They then opened the Māshūr-gate of the town ; with leaderless men in mind, no other was opened. At that gate were posted Sherīm Taghāī and Yārīm Beg. I went in with a few of the household, charged the leaderless men and had two or three put to death by way of example.¹

(*n. The spoils of Qandahār.*)

I got to Muqīm's treasury first, that being in the outer-fort ; 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mīrzā must have been quicker than I, for he was

¹ So in the Turki MSS. and the first Pers. trs. (215 f. 170b). The second Pers. trs. (217 f. 145b) has a gloss of *āiqū u tika* ; this consequently Erskine follows (p. 229) and adds a note explaining the punishment. Ilminsky has the gloss also (p. 269), thus indicating Persian and English influence.

just dismounting there when I arrived ; I gave him a few things from it. I put Dost-i-nāṣir Beg, Qul-i-bāyazīd the taster and, of pay-masters, Muḥammad *bakhshī* in charge of it, then passed on into the citadel and posted Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī, Shāh Maḥmūd and, of the pay-masters, Taghāi Shāh *bakhshī* in charge of Shāh Beg's treasury.

Nāṣir's Mīrīm and Maḥsūd the sherbet-server were sent to keep the house of Zū'n-nūn's *Dīwān* Mīr Jān for Nāṣir Mīrzā ; for Mīrzā Khān was kept Shaikh Abū-sa'īd *Tarkhānī's* ; for 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mīrzā 's.¹

Fol. 212.

Such masses of white money had never been seen in those countries ; no-one indeed was to be heard of who had seen so much. That night, when we ourselves stayed in the citadel, Shāh Beg's slave Saṃbhal was captured and brought in. Though he was then Shāh Beg's intimate, he had not yet received his later favour.² I had him given into some-one's charge but as good watch was not kept, he was allowed to escape. Next day I went back to my camp in Farrukh-zād Beg's Chār-bāgh.

I gave the Qandahār country to Nāṣir Mīrzā. After the treasure had been got into order, loaded up and started off, he took the loads of white *tankas* off a string of camels (*i.e.* 7 beasts) at the citadel-treasury, and kept them. I did not demand them back ; I just gave them to him.

On leaving Qandahār, we dismounted in the Qūsh-khāna meadow. After setting the army forward, I had gone for an excursion, so I got into camp rather late. It was another camp! not to be recognized ! Excellent *tīpūchāqs*, strings and strings of he-camels, she-camels, and mules, bearing saddle-bags (*khur-sīn*) of silken stuffs and cloth,—tents of scarlet (cloth) and velvet, all sorts of awnings, every kind of work-shop, ass-load after ass-load of chests ! The goods of the elder and younger (Arghūn) brethren had been kept in separate treasuries ; out of each had come chest upon chest, bale upon bale of stuffs and

¹ No MS. gives the missing name.

² The later favour mentioned was due to Saṃbhal's laborious release of his master from Aīzbeg captivity in 917 AH. (1511 AD.) of which Erskine quotes a full account from the *Tārīkh-i-sīnd* (History of India i, 345).

clothes-in-wear (*artmāq artmāq*), sack upon sack of white *tankas*. In *aūtāgh* and *chādar* (lattice-tent and pole-tent) was much spoil for every man soever; many sheep also had been taken but sheep were less cared about!

I made over to Qāsim Beg Muqīm's retainers in Qalāt, under Qūj *Arghūn* and Tāju'd-dīn Maḥmūd, with their goods and effects. Qāsim Beg was a knowing person; he saw it unadvisable for us to stay long near Qandahār, so, by talking and talking, worrying and worrying, he got us to march off. As has been said, I had bestowed Qandahār on Nāṣir Mīrzā; he was given leave to go there; we started for Kābul. Fol. 212b.

There had been no chance of portioning out the spoils while we were near Qandahār; it was done at Qarā-bāgh where we delayed two or three days. To count the coins being difficult, they were apportioned by weighing them in scales. Beggings of all ranks, retainers and household (*tābīn*) loaded up ass-load after ass-load of sacks full of white *tankas*, and took them away for their own subsistence and the pay of their soldiers.

We went back to Kābul with masses of goods and treasure, great honour and reputation.

(*o. Bābur's marriage with Ma'sūma-sultān.*)

After this return to Kābul I concluded alliance ('*aqd qildīm*) with Sl. Aḥmad Mīrzā's daughter Ma'sūma-sultān Begīm whom I had asked in marriage at Khurāsān, and had had brought from there.

(*p. Shaibāq Khān before Qandahār.*)

A few days later a servant of Nāṣir Mīrzā brought the news that Shaibāq Khān had come and laid siege to Qandahār. That Muqīm had fled to Zamīn-dāwar has been said already; from there he went on and saw Shaibāq Khān. From Shāh Beg also one person after another had gone to Shaibāq Khān. At the instigation and petition of these two, the Khān came swiftly down on Qandahār by the mountain road,¹ thinking to find me there. This was the very thing that experienced person Fol. 213.

¹ Presumably he went by Sabzār, Daulatābād, and Washīr.

Qāsim Beg had in his mind when he worried us into marching off from near Qandahār.

(Persian) What a mirror shews to the young man,
A baked brick shews to the old one !

Shaibāq Khān arriving, besieged Nāṣir Mīrzā in Qandahār.

(*q. Alarm in Kābul.*)

When this news came, the begs were summoned for counsel. The matters for discussion were these :—Strangers and ancient foes, such as are Shaibāq Khān and the Aūzbegs, are in possession of all the countries once held by Tīmūr Beg's descendants ; even where Turks and Chaghatāis¹ survive in corners and border-lands, they have all joined the Aūzbeg, willingly or with aversion ; one remains, I myself, in Kābul, the foe mightily strong, I very weak, with no means of making terms, no strength to oppose ; that, in the presence of such power and potency, we had to think of some place for ourselves and, at this crisis and in the crack of time there was, to put a wider space between us and the strong foeman ; that choice lay between Badakhshān and Hindūstān and that decision must now be made.

Qāsim Beg and Sherīm Ṭaghāi were agreed for Badakhshān ;

(*Author's note on Badakhshān.*) Those holding their heads up in Badakhshān at this crisis were, of Badakhshīs, Mubārak Shāh and Zubair, Jahāngīr *Turkmān* and Muḥammad the armourer. They had driven Nāṣir Mīrzā out but had not joined the Aūzbeg.

Fol. 213b. I and several household-begs preferred going towards Hindūstān and were for making a start to Lamghān.²

(*r. Movements of some Mīrzās.*)

After taking Qandahār, I had bestowed Qalāt and the Turnūk (Tarnak) country on 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mīrzā and had left him in Qalāt, but with the Aūzbeg besieging Qandahār, he could not stay in Qalāt, so left it and came to Kābul. He arriving just as we were marching out, was there left in charge.³

There being in Badakhshān no ruler or ruler's son, Mīrzā Khān inclined to go in that direction, both because of his relationship

¹ f. 202 and note to *Chaghatāi*.

² This will be for the Ningnahār *tūmān* of Lamghān.

³ He was thus dangerously raised in his father's place of rule.

to Shāh Begīm¹ and with her approval. He was allowed to go and the honoured Begīm herself started off with him. My honoured maternal-aunt Mihr-nigār Khānīm also wished to go to Badakhshān, notwithstanding that it was more seemly for her to be with me, a blood-relation ; but whatever objection was made, she was not to be dissuaded ; she also betook² herself to Badakhshān.

(s. *Bābur's second start for Hindūstān.*)

Under our plan of going to Hindūstān, we marched out of Kābul in the month of the first Jumāda (September 1507 AD.), taking the road through Little Kābul and going down by Sūrkh-rabāṭ to Qūrūq-sāi.

The Afghāns belonging between Kābul and Lamghān (Ning-nahār) are thieves and abettors of thieves even in quiet times ; for just such a happening as this they had prayed in vain. Said they, "He has abandoned Kābul", and multiplied their misdeeds by ten, changing their very merits for faults. To such lengths did things go that on the morning we marched from Jagdālīk, the Afghāns located between it and Lamghān, such as the Khizr-khail, Shimū-khail, Khirilchī and Khūgīānī, thought of blocking the pass, arrayed on the mountain to the north, and advancing with sound of tambour and flourish of sword, began to shew themselves off. On our mounting I ordered our men to move along the mountain-side, each man from where he had dismounted ;³ off they set at the gallop up every ridge and every valley of the saddle.⁴ The Afghāns stood awhile, but could not let even one arrow fly,⁵ and betook themselves to flight. While I was on the mountain during the pursuit, I shot one in the hand as he was running back below me. That arrow-stricken man and a few others were brought in ; some were put to death by impalement, as an example.

Fol. 214.

¹ ff. 106, 116. Haidar M. writes, "Shāh Begīm laid claim to Badakhshān, saying, "It has been our hereditary kingdom for 3000 years ; though I, being a woman, cannot myself attain sovereignty, yet my grandson Mīrzā Khān can hold it" (T.R. p. 203).

² *tibbrādīlār*. The agitation of mind connoted, with movement, by this verb may well have been, here, doubt of Bābur's power to protect.

³ *tūshlūq tūshdān tāghghā yūrūkātār*. Cf. 205b for the same phrase, with supposedly different meaning.

⁴ *qāngshār* lit. ridge of the nose.

⁵ *bir aūq ham quā-ālmādīlār* (f. 203b note to *chāpquān*).

We dismounted over against the Adīnapūr-fort in the Ningnahār *tūmān*.

(*t. A raid for winter stores.*)

Up till then we had taken no thought where to camp, where to go, where to stay; we had just marched up and down, camping in fresh places, while waiting for news.¹ It was late in the autumn; most lowlanders had carried in their rice. People knowing the local land and water represented that the Mīl Kāfirs up the water of the 'Alīshang *tūmān* grow great quantities of rice, so that we might be able to collect winter supplies from them for the army. Accordingly we rode out of the Ningnahār dale (*julga*), crossed (the Bārān-water) at Sāikal, and went swiftly as far as the Pūr-amīn (easeful) valley. There the soldiers took a mass of rice. The rice-fields were all at the bottom of the hills. The people fled but some Kāfirs went to their death. A few of our braves had been sent to a look-out (*sar-kūb*)² on a naze of the Pūr-anīm valley; when they were returning to us, the Kāfirs rushed from the hill above, shooting at them. They overtook Qāsim Beg's son-in-law Pūrān, chopped at him with an axe, and were just taking him when some of the braves went back, brought strength to bear, drove them off and got Pūrān away. After one night spent in the Kāfirs' rice-fields, we returned to camp with a mass of provisions collected.

Fol. 214b.

(*u. Marriage of Muqīm's daughter.*)

While we were near Mandrāwar in those days, an alliance was concluded between Muqīm's daughter Māh-chūchūk, now married to Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn*, and Qāsim Kūkūldāsh.³

¹ This will have been news both of Shaibāq Khān and of Mirzā Khān. The Pers. trss. vary here (215 f. 173 and 217 f. 148).

² Index s.n.

³ Māh-chūchūk can hardly have been married against her will to Qāsim. Her mother regarded the alliance as a family indignity; appealed to Shāh Beg and compassed a rescue from Kābul while Bābur and Qāsim were north of the Oxus [circa 916 A.H.]. Māh-chūchūk quitted Kābul after much hesitation, due partly to reluctance to leave her husband and her infant of 18 months, [Nāhid Begīm,] partly to dread less family honour might require her death (Erskine's *History*, i, 348 and Gul-badān's *Humāyūn-nāma*).

(v. Abandonment of the Hindūstān project.)

As it was not found desirable to go on into Hindūstān, I sent Mullā Bābā of Pashāghar back to Kābul with a few braves. Meantime I marched from near Mandrāwar to Atar and Shīwa and lay there for a few days. From Atar I visited Kūnār and Nūr-gal; from Kūnār I went back to camp on a raft; it was the first time I had sat on one; it pleased me much, and the raft came into common use thereafter.

(w. Shaibāq Khān retires from Qandahār.)

In those same days Mullā Bābā of Farkat came from Nāṣir Mīrzā with news in detail that Shaibāq Khān, after taking the outer-fort of Qandahār, had not been able to take the citadel but had retired; also that the Mīrzā, on various accounts, had left Qandahār and gone to Ghaznī.

Shaibāq Khān's arrival before Qandahār, within a few days of our own departure, had taken the garrison by surprise, and they had not been able to make fast the outer-fort. He ran mines several times round about the citadel and made several assaults. The place was about to be lost. At that anxious time Khwāja Muḥ. Amīn, Khwāja Dost Khāwand, Muḥ. 'Alī, a foot-soldier, and Shāmī (Syrian ?) let themselves down from the walls and got away. Just as those in the citadel were about to surrender in despair, Shaibāq Khān interposed words of peace and uprose from before the place. Why he rose was this:—It appears that before he went there, he had sent his *ḥaram* to Nīrah-tū,¹ and that in Nīrah-tū some-one lifted up his head and got command in the fort; the Khān therefore made a sort of peace and retired from Qandahār. Fol. 215.

(x. Bābur returns to Kābul.)

Mid-winter though it was we went back to Kābul by the Bād-i-pīch road. I ordered the date of that transit and that crossing of the pass to be cut on a stone above Bād-i-pīch; ² Hāfiẓ Mirak wrote the inscription, Ustād Shāh Muḥammad did the cutting, not well though, through haste.

¹ Erskine gives the fort the alternative name "Kaliūn", locates it in the Bādghis district east of Herī, and quotes from Abū'l-ghāzī in describing its strong position (*History* i, 282). H. S. Tirah-tū.

² f. 133 and note. Abū'l-faẓl mentions that the inscription was to be seen in his time.

I bestowed Ghaznī on Nāṣir Mirzā and gave 'Abdu'r-razzāq Mirzā the Ningnahār *tūmān* with Mandrāwar, Nūr-valley, Kūnār and Nūr-gal.¹

(*y. Bābur styles himself Pādshāh.*)

Up to that date people had styled Timūr Beg's descendants *Mirzā*, even when they were ruling ; now I ordered that people should style me *Pādshāh*.²

(*z. Birth of Bābur's first son.*)

At the end of this year, on Tuesday the 4th day of the month of Zū'l-qa'da (March 6th 1506 AD.), the Sun being in Pisces (*Ḥūt*), Humāyūn was born in the citadel of Kābul. The date of his birth was found by the poet Maulānā Masnadī in the words *Sultān Humāyūn Khān*,³ and a minor poet of Kābul found it in *Shāh-i-firūz-qadr* (Shāh of victorious might). A few days later he received the name Humāyūn ; when he was five or six days old, I went out to the Chār-bāgh where was had the feast of his nativity. All the begs, small and great, brought gifts ; such a mass of white *tankas* was heaped up as had never been seen before. It was a first-rate feast !

¹ This fief ranks in value next to the Kābul *tūmān*.

² Various gleanings suggest motives for Bābur's assertion of supremacy at this particular time. He was the only Timūrid ruler and man of achievement ; he filled Husain *Bāi-qarā's* place of Timūrid headship ; his actions through a long period show that he aimed at filling Timūr Beg's. There were those who did not admit his suzerainty,—Timūrids who had rebelled, Mughūls who had helped them, and who would also have helped Sa'īd Khān *Chaghatāi*, if he had not refused to be treacherous to a benefactor ; there were also the Arghūns, Chingīz-khānids of high pretensions. In old times the Mughūl Khāqāns were *pādshāh* (supreme) ; Pādshāh is recorded in history as the style of at least Sātūq-bughra Khān Pādshāh Ghāzī ; no Timūrid had been lifted by his style above all Mirzās. When however Timūrids had the upper hand, Bābur's Timūrid grandfather Abū-sa'īd asserted his *de facto* supremacy over Bābur's Chaghatāi grandfather Yūnas (T.R. p. 83). For Bābur to re-assert that supremacy by assuming the Khāqān's style was highly opportune at this moment. To be Bābur Supreme was to declare over-lordship above Chaghatāi and Mughūl, as well as over all Mirzās. It was done when his sky had cleared ; Mirzā Khān's rebellion was scotched ; the Arghūns were defeated ; he was the stronger for their lost possessions ; his Aūzbeg foe had removed to a less ominous distance ; and Kābul was once more his own.

Gul-badan writes as if the birth of his first-born son Humāyūn were a part of the uplift in her father's style, but his narrative does not support her in this, since the order of events forbids.

³ The "Khān" in Humāyūn's title may be drawn from his mother's family, since it does not come from Bābur. To whose family Māhīm belonged we have not been able to discover. It is one of the remarkable omissions of Bābur, Gul-badan and Abū'l-faẓl that they do not give her father's name. The topic of her family is discussed in my Biographical Appendix to Gul-badan's *Humāyūn-nāma* and will be taken up again, here, in a final Appendix on Bābur's family.

This spring a body of Mahmand Afghāns was over-run near Muqur.²

(a. *A Mughūl rebellion.*)

A few days after our return from that raid, Qūj Beg, Faqīr-i-‘alī, Karīm-dād and Bābā *chukra* were thinking about deserting, but their design becoming known, people were sent who took them below Astarghach. As good-for-nothing words of theirs had been reported to me, even during Jahāngīr M.’s life-time,³ I ordered that they should be put to death at the top of the *bāzār*. They had been taken to the place; the ropes had been fixed; and they were about to be hanged when Qāsim Beg sent Khalifa to me with an urgent entreaty that I would pardon their offences. To please him I gave them their lives, but I ordered them kept in custody.

What there was of Khusrau Shāh’s retainers from Hīṣār and Qūndūz, together with the head-men of the Mughūls, Chilma, Fol. 216. ‘Alī Sayyid,⁴ Sakma (?), Sher-qulī and Aikū-sālam (?), and also Khusrau Shāh’s favourite Chaghatāi retainers under Sl. ‘Alī *chukra* and Khudabakhsh, with also 2 or 3000 serviceable Turkmān braves led by Sīūdūk and Shāh Naẓar,⁵ the whole of these, after consultation, took up a bad position towards me. They were all seated in front of Khwāja Riwāj, from the Sūng-qūrghān meadow to the Chālāk; ‘Abdu’r-razzāq Mīrzā, come in from Nīng-nahār, being in Dih-i-afghān.⁶

¹ Elph. MS. f. 172b; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 174b and 217 f. 148b; Mems. p. 234.

² on the head-waters of the Tarnak (R.’s *Notes* App. p. 34).

³ Bābur has made no direct mention of his half-brother’s death (f. 208 and n. to Mīrzā).

⁴ This may be Darwesh-i-‘alī of f. 210; the Sayyid in his title may merely mean chief, since he was a Mughūl.

⁵ Several of these mutineers had fought for Bābur at Qandahār.

⁶ It may be useful to recapitulate this Mīrzā’s position:—In the previous year he had been left in charge of Kābul when Bābur went eastward in dread of Shaibāni, and, so left, occupied his hereditary place. He cannot have hoped to hold Kābul

Earlier on Muḥibb-i-ʿalī the armourer had told Khalīfā and Mullā Bābā once or twice of their assemblies, and both had given me a hint, but the thing seeming incredible, it had had no attention. One night, towards the Bed-time Prayer, when I was sitting in the Audience-hall of the Chār-bāgh, Mūsa Khwāja, coming swiftly up with another man, said in my ear, "The Mughūls are really rebelling! We do not know for certain whether they have got 'Abdu'r-razzāq M. to join them. They have not settled to rise to-night." I feigned disregard and a little later went towards the *ḥarams* which at the time were in the Yūrunchqa-garden¹ and the Bāgh-i-khilwat, but after page, servitor and messenger (*yasāwal*) had turned back on getting near them, I went with the chief-slave towards the town, and on along the ditch. I had gone as far as the Iron-gate when Khwāja Muḥ. 'Alī² met me, he coming by the *bāzār* road from the opposite direction. He joined me of the porch of the Hot-bath (*ḥammām*)³

Fol. 216b.

if the Aūzbeg attacked it; for its safety and his own he may have relied, and Bābur also in appointing him, upon influence his Arghūn connections could use. For these, one was Muqīm his brother-in-law, had accepted Shaibānī's suzerainty after being defeated in Qandahār by Bābur. It suited them better no doubt to have the younger Mirzā rather than Bābur in Kābul; the latter's return thither will have disappointed them and the Mirzā; they, as will be instanced later, stood ready to invade his lands when he moved East; they seem likely to have promoted the present Mughūl uprising. In the battle which put this down, the Mirzā was captured; Bābur pardoned him; but he having rebelled again, was then put to death.

¹ Bāgh-i-yūrunchqā may be an equivalent of Bāgh-i-safar, and the place be one of waiting "up to" (*ūnchqā*) the journey (*yūr*). *Yūrunchqā* also means *clover* (De Courteille).

² He seems to have been a brother or uncle of Humāyūn's mother Māhīm (Index; A.N. trs. i, 492 and note).

³ In all MSS. the text breaks off abruptly here, as it does on f. 118b as though through loss of pages, and a blank of narrative follows. Before the later gap of f. 251b however the last sentence is complete.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON 914 TO 925 AH.—1508 TO 1519 AD.

From several references made in the *Bābur-nāma* and from a passage in Gul-badan's *Humāyūn-nāma* (f. 15), it is inferrible that Bābur was composing the annals of 914 AH. not long before his last illness and death.¹

Before the diary of 925 AH. (1519 AD.) takes up the broken thread of his autobiography, there is a *lacuna* of narrative extending over nearly eleven years. The break was not intended, several references in the *Bābur-nāma* shewing Bābur's purpose to describe events of the unchronicled years.² Mr. Erskine, in the Léyden and Erskine *Memoirs*, carried Bābur's biography through the major *lacuna*, but without first-hand help from the best sources, the *Ḥabībū's-siyar* and *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*. He had not the help of the first even in his *History of India*. M. de Courteille working as a translator only, made no attempt to fill the gaps.

Bābur's biography has yet to be completed ; much time is demanded by the task, not only in order to exhaust known sources and seek others further afield, but to weigh and balance the contradictory statements of writers deep-sundered in sympathy and outlook. To strike such a balance is essential when dealing with the events of 914 to 920 AH. because in those years Bābur had part in an embittered conflict between Sunnī and Shī'a. What I offer below, as a stop-gap, is a mere summary of events, mainly based on material not used by Mr. Erskine, with a few comments prompted by acquaintance with Bāburiana.

USEFUL SOURCES

Compared with what Bābur could have told of this most interesting period of his life, the yield of the sources is scant,

¹ Index *s.n.* *Bābur-nāma*, date of composition and gaps.

² *ibid.*

a natural sequel from the fact that no one of them had his biography for its main theme, still less had his own action in crises of enforced ambiguity.

Of all known sources the best are Khwānd-amīr's *Ḥabībū's-siyyar* and Ḥaidar Mīrzā *Dughlāt's Tārīkh-i-rashīdī*. The first was finished nominally in 930 AH. (1524-5 AD.), seven years therefore before Bābur's death, but it received much addition of matter concerning Bābur after its author went to Hindūstān in 934 AH. (f. 339). Its fourth part, a life of Shāh Ismā'īl *Ṣafarwī* is especially valuable for the years of this *lacuna*. Ḥaidar's book was finished under Humāyūn in 953 AH. (1547 AD.), when its author had reigned five years in Kashmīr. It is the most valuable of all the sources for those interested in Bābur himself, both because of Ḥaidar's excellence as a biographer, and through his close acquaintance with Bābur's family. From his eleventh to his thirteenth year he lived under Bābur's protection, followed this by 19 years service under Sa'īd Khān, the cousin of both, in Kāshghar, and after that Khān's death, went to Bābur's sons Kāmran and Humāyūn in Hindūstān.

A work issuing from a Sunnī Aūzbeḡ centre, Faḡl bin Ruzbahān *Isfahānī's Sūlūku'l-mulūk*, has a Preface of special value, as shewing one view of what it writes of as the spread of heresy in Māwarā'u'n-nahr through Bābur's invasions. The book itself is a Treatise on Musalmān Law, and was prepared by order of 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Khān *Aūzbeḡ* for his help in fulfilling a vow he had made, before attacking Bābur in 918 AH., at the shrine of Khwāja Aḡmad *Yasarwī* [in Ḥaḡrat Turkistān], that, if he were victorious, he would conform exactly with the divine Law and uphold it in Māwarā'u'n-nahr (Rieu's Pers. Cat. ii, 448).

The *Tārīkh-i Ḥāḡī Muḡammad 'Ārif Qandahārī* appears, from the frequent use Firishta made of it, to be a useful source, both because its author was a native of Qandahār, a place much occupying Bābur's activities, and because he was a servant of Bairām Khān-i-khānān, whose assassination under Akbar he witnessed.¹ Unfortunately, though his life of Akbar survives

¹ Jumāda I, 14th 968 AH.—Jan. 31st 1561 AD. Concerning the book see Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* vi, 572 and JRAS 1901 p. 76, H. Beveridge's art. *On Persian MSS. in Indian Libraries*.

no copy is now known of the section of his General History which deals with Bābur's.

An early source is Yahya *Kazwīnī's* *Lubbu't-tawārīkh*, written in 948 AH. (1541 AD.), but brief only in the Bābur period. It issued from a Shī'a source, being commanded by Shāh Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī's* son Bahrām.

Another work issuing also from a *Ṣafawī* centre is Mīr Sikandar's *Tārīkh-i-ālam-arāī*, a history of Shāh 'Abbas I, with an introduction treating of his predecessors which was completed in 1025 AH. (1616 AD.). Its interest lies in its outlook on Bābur's dealings with Shāh Ismā'īl.

A later source, brief only, is Firishta's *Tārīkh-i-firishta*, finished under Jahāngīr in the first quarter of the 17th century.

Mr. Erskine makes frequent reference to Kh(w)āfī Khān's *Tārīkh*, a secondary authority however, written under Aurang-zīb, mainly based on Firishta's work, and merely summarizing Bābur's period. References to detached incidents of the period are found in Shaikh 'Abdu'l-qādir's *Tārīkh-i-badāyūnī* and Mīr Ma'sūm's *Tārīkh-i-sind*.

EVENTS OF THE UNCHRONICLED YEARS

914 AH.—MAY 2ND 1508 TO APRIL 21ST 1509 AD.

The mutiny, of which an account begins in the text, was crushed by the victory of 500 loyalists over 3,000 rebels, one factor of success being Bābur's defeat in single combat of five champions of his adversaries.¹ The disturbance was not of long duration; Kābul was tranquil in Sha'bān (November) when Sl. Sa'īd Khān *Chaghatāī*, then 21, arrived there seeking his cousin's protection, after defeat by his brother Maṣṣūr at Almātū, escape from death, commanded by Shaibānī, in Farghāna, a winter journey through Qarā-tīgīn to Mīrzā Khān in Qilā'-i-ẓafar, refusal of an offer to put him in that feeble Mīrzā's place, and so on to Kābul, where he came a destitute fugitive and

¹ The T.R. gives the names of two only of the champions but Firishta, writing much later gives all five; we surmise that he found his five in the book of which copies are not now known, the *Tārīkh-i Muḥ. 'Arif Qandahārī*. Firishta's five are 'Alī *shab-kūr* (night-blind), 'Alī *Sīstānī*, Naẓar Bahādur *Aūsbeg*, Ya'qūb *tez-jang* (swift in fight), and Aūzbeg Bahādur. Haidar's two names vary in the MSS. of the T.R. but represent the first two of Firishta's list.

enjoyed a freedom from care never known by him before (f. 200b; T.R. p. 226). The year was fatal to his family and to Ḥaidar's; in it Shaibānī murdered Sl. Maḥmūd Khān and his six sons, Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā and other Dughlāt sultāns.

915 AH.—APRIL 21ST 1509 TO APRIL 11TH 1510 AD.

In this year hostilities began between Shāh Ismā'īl *Ṣafawī* and Muḥ. Shaibānī Khān *Aūz*beg, news of which must have excited keen interest in Kābul.

In it occurred also what was in itself a minor matter of a child's safety, but became of historical importance, namely, the beginning of personal acquaintance between Bābur and his sympathetic biographer Ḥaidar Mīrzā *Dughlāt*. Ḥaidar, like Sa'īd, came a fugitive to the protection of a kinsman; he was then eleven, had been saved by servants from the death commanded by Shaibānī, conveyed to Mīrzā Khān in Badakhshān, thence sent for by Bābur to the greater security of Kābul (f. 11; Index *s.n.*; T.R. p. 227).

916 AH.—APRIL 11TH 1510 TO MARCH 31ST 1510 AD.

a. News of the battle of Merv.

Over half of this year passed quietly in Kābul; Ramzān (December) brought from Mīrzā Khān (Wais) the stirring news that Ismā'īl had defeated Shaibānī near Merv.¹ "It is not known," wrote the Mīrzā, "whether Shāhī Beg Khān has been killed or not. All the Aūzbegs have crossed the Amū. Amīr Aūrūs, who was in Qūndūz, has fled. About 20,000 Mughūls, who left the Aūz beg at Merv, have come to Qūndūz. I have come there." He then invited Bābur to join him and with him to try for the recovery of their ancestral territories (T.R. p. 237).

¹ There are curious differences of statement about the date of Shaibānī's death, possibly through confusion between this and the day on which preliminary fighting began near Merv. Ḥaidar's way of expressing the date carries weight by its precision, he giving *ros-i-shakk* of Ramzān, *i.e.* a day of which there was doubt whether it was the last of Sha'bān or the first of Ramzān (Lane, *yaumā'u'l-shakk*). As the sources support Friday for the day of the week and on a Friday in the year 915 AH. fell the 29th of Sha'bān, the date of Shaibānī's death seems to be Friday Sha'bān 29th 915 AH. (Friday December 2nd 1510 AD.).

b. Bābur's campaign in Transoxiana begun.

The Mirzā's letter was brought over passes blocked by snow; Bābur, with all possible speed, took the one winter-route through Āb-dara, kept the Ramzān Feast in Bāmiān, and reached Qūndūz in Shawwāl (Jan. 1511 AD.). Ḥaidar's detail about the Feast seems likely to have been recorded because he had read Bābur's own remark, made in Ramzān 933 AH. (June 1527) that up to that date, when he kept it in Sikrī, he had not since his eleventh year kept it twice in the same place (f. 330).

c. Mughūl affairs.

Outside Qūndūz lay the Mughūls mentioned by Mirzā Khān as come from Merv and so mentioned, presumably, as a possible reinforcement. They had been servants of Bābur's uncles Maḥmūd and Aḥmad, and when Shaibānī defeated those Khāns at Akhsī in 908 AH., had been compelled by him to migrate into Khurāsān to places remote from Mughūlistān. Many of them had served in Kāshghar; none had served a Tīmūrid Mirzā. Set free by Shaibānī's death, they had come east, a Khān-less 20,000 of armed and fully equipped men and they were there, as Ḥaidar says, in their strength while of Chaghatāis there were not more than 5,000. They now, and with them the Mughūls from Kābul, used the opportunity offering for return to a more congenial location and leadership, by the presence in Qūndūz of a legitimate Khāqān and the clearance in Andijān, a threshold of Mughūlistān, of its Aūzbeḡ governors (f. 200b). The chiefs of both bodies of Mughūls, Sherīm Taghāi at the head of one, Ayūb *Begchik* of the other, proffered the Mughūl Khānship to Sa'īd with offer to set Bābur aside, perhaps to kill him. It is improbable that in making their offer they contemplated locating themselves in the confined country of Kābul; what they seem to have wished was what Bābur gave, Sa'īd for their Khāqān and permission to go north with him.

Sa'īd, in words worth reading, rejected their offer to injure Bābur, doing so on the grounds of right and gratitude, but, the two men agreeing that it was now expedient for them to part, asked to be sent to act for Bābur where their friendship could be maintained for their common welfare. The matter was

settled by Bābur's sending him into Andijān in response to an urgent petition for help there just arrived from Ḥaidar's uncle. He "was made Khān" and started forth in the following year, on Ṣafar 14th 917 AH. (May 13th 1511 AD.); with him went most of the Mughūls but not all, since even of those from Merv, Ayūb *Begchāḡ* and others are found mentioned on several later occasions as being with Bābur.

Bābur's phrase "I made him Khān" (f. 200b) recalls his earlier mention of what seems to be the same appointment (f. 10b), made by Abū-sa'īd of Yūnas as Khān of the Mughūls; in each case the meaning seems to be that the Tīmūrid Mīrzā made the Chaghataī Khān Khāqān of the Mughūls.

d. First attempt on Ḥiṣār.

After spending a short time in Qūndūz, Bābur moved for Ḥiṣār in which were the Aūzbeg sultāns Mahdī and Ḥamza. They came out into Wakhsh to meet him but, owing to an imbroglio, there was no encounter and each side retired (T.R. p. 238).

e. Intercourse between Bābur and Ismā'īl Ṣafawī.

While Bābur was now in Qūndūz his sister Khān-zāda arrived there, safe-returned under escort of the Shāh's troops, after the death in the battle of Merv of her successive husbands Shaibānī and Sayyid Hādī, and with her came an envoy from Ismā'īl proffering friendship, civilities calculated to arouse a hope of Persian help in Bābur. To acknowledge his courtesies, Bābur sent Mīrzā Khān with thanks and gifts; Ḥaidar says that the Mīrzā also conveyed protestations of good faith and a request for military assistance. He was well received and his request for help was granted; that it was granted under hard conditions then stated later occurrences shew.

917 AH.—MARCH 31ST 1511 TO MARCH 19TH 1512 AD.

a. Second attempt on Ḥiṣār.

In this year Bābur moved again on Ḥiṣār. He took post, where once his forbear Tīmūr had wrought out success against great odds, at the Pul-i-sangīn (Stone-bridge) on the Sūrkh-āb,

and lay there a month awaiting reinforcement. The Aūzbeḡ sultāns faced him on the other side of the river, they too, presumably, awaiting reinforcement. They moved when they felt themselves strong enough to attack, whether by addition to their own numbers, whether by learning that Bābur had not largely increased his own. Concerning the second alternative it is open to surmise that he hoped for larger reinforcement than he obtained; he appears to have left Qūndūz before the return of Mīrzā Khān from his embassy to Ismā'īl, to have expected Persian reinforcement with the Mīrzā, and at Pul-i-sangīn, where the Mīrzā joined him in time to fight, to have been strengthened by the Mīrzā's own following, and few, if any, foreign auxiliaries. These surmises are supported by what Khwānd-amīr relates of the conditions [specified later] on which the Shāh's main contingent was despatched and by his shewing that it did not start until after the Shāh had had news of the battle at Pul-i-sangīn.

At the end of the month of waiting, the Aūzbeḡs one morning swam the Sūrkh-āb below the bridge; in the afternoon of the same day, Bābur retired to better ground amongst the mountain fastnesses of a local Āb-dara. In the desperate encounter which followed the Aūzbeḡs were utterly routed with great loss in men; they were pursued to Darband-i-ahanīn (Iron-gate) on the Ḥiṣār border, on their way to join a great force assembled at Qarshī under Kūchūm Khān, Shaibānī's successor as Aūzbeḡ Khāqān. The battle is admirably described by Ḥaidar, who was then a boy of 12 with keen eye watching his own first fight, and that fight with foes who had made him the last male survivor of his line. In the evening of the victory Maḥdī, Ḥamza and Ḥamza's son Mamak were brought before Bābur who, says Ḥaidar, did to them what they had done to the Mughūl Khāqāns and Chaghatāi Sultāns, that is, he retaliated in blood for the blood of many kinsmen.

b. Persian reinforcement.

After the battle Bābur went to near Ḥiṣār, was there joined by many local tribesmen, and, some time later, by a large body of Ismā'īl's troops under Aḥmad Beg *Ṣafawī*, 'Alī Khān *Istīlū*

and Shāhrukh Sl. *Afshār*, Ismā'īl's seal-keeper. The following particulars, given by Khwānd-amīr, about the despatch of this contingent help to fix the order of occurrences, and throw light on the price paid by Bābur for his auxiliaries. He announced his victory over Mahdī and Ḥamza to the Shāh, and at the same time promised that if he reconquered the rest of Transoxiana by the Shāh's help, he would read his name in the *khutba*, stamp it on coins together with those of the Twelve Imāms, and work to destroy the power of the Aūzbegs. These undertakings look like a response to a demand; such conditions cannot have been proffered; their acceptance must have been compelled. Khwānd-amīr says that when Ismā'īl fully understood the purport of Bābur's letter, [by which would seem to be meant, when he knew that his conditions of help were accepted,] he despatched the troops under the three Commanders named above.

The Persian chiefs advised a move direct on Bukhārā and Samarkand; and with this Bābur's councillors concurred, they saying, according to Ḥaidar, that Bukhārā was then empty of troops and full of fools. 'Ubaid Khān had thrown himself into Qarshī; it was settled not to attack him but to pass on and encamp a stage beyond the town. This was done; then scout followed scout, bringing news that he had come out of Qarshī and was hurrying to Bukhārā, his own fief. Instant and swift pursuit followed him up the 100 miles of caravan-road, into Bukhārā, and on beyond, sweeping him and his garrison, plundered as they fled, into the open land of Turkistān. Many sultāns had collected in Samarkand, some no doubt being, like Tīmūr its governor, fugitives escaped from Pul-i-sangīn. Dismayed by Bābur's second success, they scattered into Turkistān, thus leaving him an open road.

c. Samarkand re-occupied and relations with Ismā'īl Ṣafawī.

He must now have hoped to be able to dispense with his dangerous colleagues, for he dismissed them when he reached Bukhārā, with gifts and thanks for their services. It is Ḥaidar, himself present, who fixes Bukhārā as the place of the dismissal (T.R. p. 246).

From Bukhārā Bābur went to Samarkand. It was mid-Rajab 917 AH. (October 1511 AD.), some ten months after leaving Kābul, and after 9 years of absence, that he re-entered the town, itself gay with decoration for his welcome, amidst the acclaim of its people.¹

Eight months were to prove his impotence to keep it against the forces ranged against him,—Aūzbeg strength in arms compacted by Sunnī zeal, Sunnī hatred of a Shī'a's suzerainty intensified by dread lest that potent Shī'a should resolve to perpetuate his dominance. Both as a Sunnī and as one who had not owned a suzerain, the position was unpleasant for Bābur. That his alliance with Ismā'īl was dangerous he will have known, as also that his risks grew as Transoxiana was over-spread by news of Ismā'īl's fanatical barbarism to pious and learned Sunnīs, notably in Herī. He manifested desire for release both now and later,—now when he not only dismissed his Persian helpers but so behaved to the Shāh's envoy Muḥammad Jān,—he was Najm Sānī's Lord of the Gate,—that the envoy felt neglect and made report of Bābur as arrogant, in opposition, and unwilling to fulfil his compact,—later when he eagerly attempted success unaided against 'Ubaid Khān, and was then worsted. It illustrates the Shāh's view of his suzerain relation to Bābur that on hearing Muḥammad Jān's report, he ordered Najm Sānī to bring the offender to order.

Meantime the Shāh's conditions seem to have been carried out in Samarkand and Bābur's subservience clearly shewn.² Of this there are the indications,—that Bābur had promised and was a man of his word ; that Sunnī irritation against him waxed and did not wane as it might have done without food to nourish it ; that Bābur knew himself impotent against the Aūzbegs unless he had foreign aid, expected attack, knew it was preparing ; that he would hear of Muḥammad Jān's report and of Najm Sānī's commission against himself. Honesty, policy and necessity

¹ If my reading be correct of the Turkī passage concerning wines drunk by Bābur which I have noted on f. 49 (*in loco* p. 83 n. 1), it was during this occupation of Kābul that Bābur first broke the Law against stimulants.

² Mr. R. S. Poole found a coin which he took to be one struck in obedience to Bābur's compact with the Shāh (B.M.Cat. of the coins of Persian Shāhs 1887, pp. xxiv *et seq.* ; T.R. p. 246 n.).

combined to enforce the fulfilment of his agreement. What were the precise terms of that agreement beyond the two as to the *khutba* and the coins, it needs close study of the wording of the sources to decide, lest metaphor be taken for fact. Great passions,—ambition, religious fervour, sectarian bigotry and fear confronted him. His problem was greater than that of Henry of Navarre and of Napoleon in Egypt; they had but to seem what secured their acceptance; he had to put on a guise that brought him hate.

Khān-zāda was not the only member of Bābur's family who now rejoined him after marriage with an Aūzbeg. His half-sister Yādgār-sultān had fallen to the share of Ḥamza Sultān's son 'Abdu'l-laṭīf in 908 AH. when Shaibānī defeated the Khāns near Akhsī. Now that her half-brother had defeated her husband's family, she returned to her own people (f. 9).

918 AH.—MARCH 19TH 1512 TO MARCH 9TH 1513 AD.

a. Return of the Aūzbegs.

Emboldened by the departure of the Persian troops, the Aūzbegs, in the spring of the year, came out of Turkistān, their main attack being directed on Tāshkīnt, then held for Bābur.¹ 'Ubaid Khān moved for Bukhārā. He had prefaced his march by vowing that, if successful, he would thenceforth strictly observe Musalmān Law. The vow was made in Ḥazrat Turkistān at the shrine of Khwāja Aḥmad *Yasawī*, a saint revered in Central Asia through many centuries; he had died about 1120 AD.; Tīmūr had made pilgrimage to his tomb, in 1397 AD., and then had founded the mosque still dominating the town, still the pilgrim's land-mark.² 'Ubaid's vow, like Bābur's of 933 AH., was one of return to obedience. Both men took oath in the Ghāzī's mood, Bābur's set against the Hindū whom he saw as a heathen, 'Ubaid's set against Bābur whom he saw as a heretic.

¹ It was held by Aḥmad-i-qāsim *Kohbur* and is referred to on f. 234b, as one occasion of those in which Dost Beg distinguished himself.

² Schuyler's *Turkistān* has a good account and picture of the mosque. 'Ubaid's vow is referred to in my earlier mention of the *Sulūkū'l-mulūk*. It may be noted here that this MS. supports the spelling *Bābur* by making the second syllable rhyme to *pūr*, as against the form *Bābar*.

b. Bābur's defeat at Kul-i-malik.

In Ṣafar (April–May) ‘Ubaid moved swiftly down and attacked the Bukhārā neighbourhood. Bābur went from Samarkand to meet him. Several details of what followed, not given by Ḥaidar and, in one particular, contradicting him, are given by Khwānd-amīr. The statement in which the two historians contradict one another is Ḥaidar’s that ‘Ubaid had 3000 men only, Bābur 40,000. Several considerations give to Khwānd-amīr’s opposed statement that Bābur’s force was small, the semblance of being nearer the fact. Ḥaidar, it may be said, did not go out on this campaign; he was ill in Samarkand and continued ill there for some time; Khwānd-amīr’s details have the well-informed air of things learned at first-hand, perhaps from some-one in Hindūstān after 934 AH.

Matters which make against Bābur’s having a large effective force at Kul-i-malik, and favour Khwānd-amīr’s statement about the affair are these:—‘Ubaid must have formed some estimate of what he had to meet, and he brought 3000 men. Where could Bābur have obtained 40,000 men worth reckoning in a fight? In several times of crisis his own immediate and ever-faithful troop is put at 500; as his cause was now unpopular, local accretions may have been few. Some Mughūls from Merv and from Kābul were near Samarkand (T.R. pp. 263, 265); most were with Sa’īd in Andijān; but however many Mughūls may have been in his neighbourhood, none could be counted on as resolute for his success. If too, he had had more than a small effective force, would he not have tried to hold Samarkand with the remnant of defeat until Persian help arrived? All things considered, there is ground for accepting Khwānd-amīr’s statement that Bābur met ‘Ubaid with a small force.

Following his account therefore:—Bābur in his excess of daring, marched to put the Aūzbeg down with a small force only, against the advice of the prudent, of whom Muḥammad Mazīd Tarkhān was one, who all said it was wrong to go out unprepared and without reinforcement. Paying them no attention, Bābur marched for Bukhārā, was rendered still more daring by news had when he neared it, that the enemy had retired some stages, and followed him up almost to his camp. ‘Ubaid was

in great force ; many Aūzbegs perished but, in the end, they were victors and Bābur was compelled to take refuge in Bukhārā. The encounter took place near Kul-i-malik (King's-lake) in Ṣafar 918 AH. (April–May 1512 AD.).

c. Bābur leaves Samarkand.

It was not possible to maintain a footing in Samarkand ; Bābur therefore collected his family and train¹ and betook himself to Ḥiṣār. There went with him on this expedition Māhim and her children Humāyūn, Mihr-jahān and Bārbūl,—the motherless Ma'ṣūma,—Gul-rukh with her son Kāmran (Gul-badan f. 7). I have not found any account of his route ; Ḥaidar gives no details about the journey ; he did not travel with Bābur, being still invalided in Samarkand. Perhaps the absence of information is a sign that the Aūzbegs had not yet appeared on the direct road for Ḥiṣār. A local tradition however would make Bābur go round through Farghāna. He certainly might have gone into Farghāna hoping to co-operate with Sa'īd Khān ; Tāshkīnt was still holding out under Aḥmad-i-qāsim *Kohbur* and it is clear that all activity in Bābur's force had not been quenched because during the Tāshkīnt siege, Dost Beg broke through the enemy's ranks and made his way into the town. Sairām held out longer than Tāshkīnt. Of any such move by Bābur into Andijān the only hint received is given by what may be a mere legend.²

¹ *aurūq*. Bābur refers to this exodus on f. 126 when writing of Daulat-sulṭān Khānīm.

² It is one recorded with some variation, in Niyāz Muḥammad *Khukandī's Tārīkh-i-shāhrukhī* (Kazan, 1885) and Nalivkine's *Khānate of Khokand* (p. 63). It says that when Bābur in 918 AH. (1512 AD.) left Samarkand after defeat by the Aūzbegs, one of his wives, Sayyida Afāq who accompanied him in his flight, gave birth to a son in the desert which lies between Khujand and Kand-i-badām ; that Bābur, not daring to tarry and the infant being too young to make the impending journey, left it under some bushes with his own girdle round it in which were things of price ; that the child was found by local people and in allusion to the valuables amongst which it lay, called Altin bishik (golden cradle) ; that it received other names and was best known in later life as Khudāyān Sulṭān. He is said to have spent most of his life in Akhsī ; to have had a son Tīngri-yār ; and to have died in 952 AH. (1545 AD.). His grandson Yār-i-muḥammad is said to have gone to India to relations who was descendants of Bābur (JASB 1905 p. 137 H. Beveridge's art. *The Emperor Bābur*). What is against the truth of this tradition is that Gul-badan mentions no such wife as Sayyida Afāq. Māhim however seems to have belonged to a religious family, might therefore be styled Sayyida, and, as Bābur mentions (f. 220), had several children who did not live (a child left as this infant was, might if not heard of, be supposed dead). There is this opening allowed for considering the tradition.

d. Bābur in Ḥiṣār.

After experiencing such gains and such losses, Bābur was still under 30 years of age.

The Aūzbegs, after his departure, re-occupied Bukhārā and Samarkand without harm done to the towns-people, and a few weeks later, in Jumāda I (July–August) followed him to Ḥiṣār. Meantime he with Mīrzā Khān's help, had so closed the streets of the town by massive earth-works that the sultāns were convinced its defenders were ready to spend the last drop of their blood in holding it, and therefore retired without attack.¹ Some sources give as their reason for retirement that Bābur had been reinforced from Balkh; Bairām Beg, it is true, had sent a force but one of 300 men only; so few cannot have alarmed except as the harbinger of more. Greater precision as to dates would shew whether they can have heard of Najm Ṣānī's army advancing by way of Balkh.

e. Qarshī and Ghaj-davān.

Meantime Najm Ṣānī, having with him some 11,000 men, had started on his corrective mission against Bābur. When he reached the Khurāsān frontier, he heard of the defeat at Kul-i-malik and the flight to Ḥiṣār, gathered other troops from Harāt and elsewhere, and advanced to Balkh. He stayed there for 20 days with Bairām Beg, perhaps occupied, in part, by communications with the Shāh and Bābur. From the latter repeated request for help is said to have come; help was given, some sources say without the Shāh's permission. A rendezvous was fixed, Najm Ṣānī marched to Tirmīz, there crossed the Amū and in Rajab (Sep.–Oct.) encamped near the Darband-i-ahanīn. On Bābur's approach through the Chak-chaq pass, he paid him the civility of going several miles out from his camp to give him honouring reception.

Advancing thence for Bukhārā, the combined armies took Khuzār and moved on to Qarshī. This town Bābur wished to pass by, as it had been passed by on his previous march for Bukhārā; each time perhaps he wished to spare its people,

¹ Bābur refers to this on f. 265.

formerly his subjects, whom he desired to rule again, and who are reputed to have been mostly his fellow Turks. Najm Ṣānī refused to pass on; he said Qarshī must be taken because it was 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Khān's nest; in it was 'Ubaid's uncle Shaikhīm Mīrzā; it was captured; the Aūzbeg garrison was put to the sword and, spite of Bābur's earnest entreaties, all the townspeople, 15,000 persons it is said, down to the "suckling and decrepit", were massacred. Amongst the victims was Banā'ī who happened to be within it. This action roused the utmost anger against Najm Ṣānī; it disgusted Bābur, not only through its merciless slaughter but because it made clear the disregard in which he was held by his magnificent fellow-general.

From murdered Qarshī Najm Ṣānī advanced for Bukhārā. On getting within a few miles of it, he heard that an Aūzbeg force was approaching under Tīmūr and Abū-sa'īd, presumably from Samarkand therefore. He sent Bairām Beg to attack them; they drew off to the north and threw themselves into Ghaj-davān, the combined armies following them. This move placed Najm Ṣānī across the Zar-afshān, on the border of the desert with which the Aūzbegs were familiar, and with 'Ubaid on his flank in Bukhārā.

As to what followed the sources vary; they are brief; they differ less in statement of the same occurrence than in their choice of details to record; as Mr. Erskine observes their varying stories are not incompatible. Their widest difference is a statement of time but the two periods named, one a few days, the other four months, may not be meant to apply to the same event. Four months the siege is said to have lasted; this could not have been said if it had been a few days only. The siege seems to have been of some duration.

At first there were minor engagements, ending with varying success; provisions and provender became scarce; Najm Ṣānī's officers urged retirement, so too did Bābur. He would listen to none of them. At length 'Ubaid Khān rode out from Bukhārā at the head of excellent troops; he joined the Ghaj-davān garrison and the united Aūzbegs posted themselves in the suburbs where walled lanes and gardens narrowed the field and lessened Najm Ṣānī's advantage in numbers. On Tuesday

Ramzān 3rd (Nov. 12th) ¹ a battle was fought in which his army was routed and he himself slain.

f. Bābur and Yār-i-aḥmad Najm Sānī.

Some writers say that Najm Ṣānī's men did not fight well; it must be remembered that they may have been weakened by privation and that they had wished to retire. Of Bābur it is said that he, who was the reserve, did not fight at all; it is difficult to see good cause why, under all the circumstances, he should risk the loss of his men. It seems likely that Ḥaidar's strong language about this defeat would suit Bābur's temper also. "The victorious breezes of Islām overturned the banners of the schismatics. . . . Most of them perished on the field; the rents made by the sword at Qarshī were sewn up at Ghaj-davān by the arrow-stitches of vengeance. Najm Ṣānī and all the Turkmān amīrs were sent to hell."

The belief that Bābur had failed Najm Ṣānī persisted at the Persian Court, for his inaction was made a reproach to his son Humāyūn in 951 AH. (1544 AD.), when Humāyūn was a refugee with Ismā'īl's son Ṭahmāsp. Badāyūnī tells a story which, with great inaccuracy of name and place, represents the view taken at that time. The part of the anecdote pertinent here is that Bābur on the eve of the battle at Ghaj-davān, shot an arrow into the Aūzbeg camp which carried the following couplet, expressive of his ill-will to the Shāh and perhaps also of his rejection of the Shī'a guise he himself had worn.

I made the Shāh's Najm road-stuff for the Aūzbegs;
If fault has been mine, I have now cleansed the road.²

g. The Mughūls attack Bābur.

On his second return to Ḥiṣār Bābur was subjected to great danger by a sudden attack made upon him by the Mughūls where he lay at night in his camp outside the town. Firishta says, but without particulars of their offence, that Bābur had reproached

¹ The *Lubbu't-tawārikh* would fix Ramzān 7th.

² Mr. Erskine's quotation of the Persian original of the couplet differs from that which I have translated (*History of India* ii, 326; *Tārīkh-i-badāyūnī* Bib. Ind. ed. f. 444). Perhaps in the latter a pun is made on Najm as the leader's name and as meaning *fortune*; if so it points the more directly at the Shāh. The second line is quoted by Badāyūnī on his f. 362 also.

them for their misconduct ; the absence of detail connecting the affair with the defeat just sustained, leads to the supposition that their misdeeds were a part of the tyranny over the country-people punished later by 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Khān. Roused from his sleep by the noise of his guards' resistance to the Mughūl attack, Bābur escaped with difficulty and without a single attendant¹ into the fort. The conspirators plundered his camp and withdrew to Qarā-tigīn. He was in no position to oppose them, left a few men in Hīṣār and went to Mīrzā Khān in Qūndūz.

After he left, Hīṣār endured a desolating famine, a phenomenal snowfall and the ravages of the Mughūls. 'Ubaid Khān avenged Bābur on the horde ; hearing of their excesses, he encamped outside the position they had taken up in Wakhsh defended by river, hills and snow, waited till a road thawed, then fell upon them and avenged the year's misery they had inflicted on the Hīṣārīs. Ḥaidar says of them that it was their villainy lost Hīṣār to Bābur and gained it for the Aūzbeg.²

These Mughūls had for chiefs men who when Sa'īd went to Andijān, elected to stay with Bābur. One of the three named by Ḥaidar was Ayūb *Begchīk*. He repented his disloyalty ; when he lay dying some two years later (920 A.H.) in Yāngī-hīṣār, he told Sa'īd Khān who visited him, that what was "lacerating his bowels and killing him with remorse", was his faithlessness to Bābur in Hīṣār, the oath he had broken at the instigation of those "hogs and bears", the Mughūl chiefs (T.R. p. 315).

In this year but before the Mughūl treachery to Bābur, Ḥaidar left him, starting in Rajab (Sep.—Oct.) to Sa'īd in Andijān and thus making a beginning of his 19 years spell of service.

919 A.H.—MARCH 9TH 1513 TO FEB. 26TH 1514 AD.

Bābur may have spent this year in Khishm (H.S. iii, 372). During two or three months of it, he had one of the Shāh's

¹ Some translators make Bābur go "naked" into the fort but, on his own authority (f. 106b), it seems safer to understand what others say, that he went stripped of attendance, because it was always his habit even in times of peace to lie down in his tunic ; much more would he have done so at such a crisis of his affairs as this of his flight to Hīṣār.

² Ḥaidar gives a graphic account of the misconduct of the horde and of their punishment (T.R. p. 261-3).

retainers in his service, Khwāja Kamālu'd-dīn Maḥmūd, who had fled from Ghaj-davān to Balkh, heard there that the Balkhīs favoured an Aūzbeḡ chief whose coming was announced, and therefore went to Bābur. In Jumāda II (August), hearing that the Aūzbeḡ sultan had left Balkh, he returned there but was not admitted because the Balkhīs feared reprisals for their welcome to the Aūzbeḡ, a fear which may indicate that he had taken some considerable reinforcement to Bābur. He went on into Khurāsān and was there killed; Balkh was recaptured for the Shāh by Deo Sulṭān, a removal from Aūzbeḡ possession which helps to explain how Bābur came to be there in 923 AH.

920 AH.—FEB. 26TH 1514 TO FEB. 15TH 1515 AD.

Ḥaidar writes of Bābur as though he were in Qūndūz this year (TR. p. 263), says that he suffered the greatest misery and want, bore it with his accustomed courtesy and patience but, at last, despairing of success in recovering Ḥiṣār, went back to Kābul. Now it seems to be that he made the stay in Khwāst to which he refers later (f. 241b) and during which his daughter Gul-rang was born, as Gul-badan's chronicle allows known.

It was at the end of the year, after the privation of winter therefore, that he reached Kābul. When he re-occupied Samarkand in 917 AH., he had given Kābul to his half-brother Nāṣir Mīrzā; the Mīrzā received him now with warm welcome and protestations of devotion and respect, spoke of having guarded Kābul for him and asked permission to return to his own old fief Ghaznī. His behaviour made a deep impression on Bābur; it would be felt as a humane touch on the sore of failure.

921 AH.—FEB. 15TH 1515 TO FEB. 5TH 1516 AD.

a. Rebellion of chiefs in Ghaznī.

Nāṣir Mīrzā died shortly after (*dar hamān ayyām*) his return to Ghaznī. Disputes then arose amongst the various commanders who were in Ghaznī; Sherīm Ṭaghāī was one of them and the main strength of the tumult was given by the Mughūls. Many others were however involved in it, even such an old servant as Bābā of Pashāghar taking part (f. 234b; T.R. p. 356). Ḥaidar did not know precisely the cause of the dispute, or shew

why it should have turned against Bābur, since he attributes it to possession taken by Satan of the brains of the chiefs and a consequent access of vain-glory and wickedness. Possibly some question of succession to Nāṣir arose. Dost Beg distinguished himself in the regular battle which ensued ; Qāsim Beg's son Qam̄bar-i-'alī hurried down from Qūndūz and also did his good part to win it for Bābur. Many of the rioters were killed, others fled to Kāshghar. Sherīm Ṭaghāī was one of the latter ; as Sa'īd Khān gave him no welcome, he could not stay there ; he fell back on the much injured Bābur who, says Ḥaidar, showed him his usual benevolence, turned his eyes from his offences and looked only at his past services until he died shortly afterwards (T.R. p. 357).¹

922 AH.—FEB. 5TH 1516 TO JAN. 24TH 1517 AD.

This year may have been spent in and near Kābul in the quiet promoted by the dispersion of the Mughūls.

In this year was born Bābur's son Muḥammad known as 'Askarī from his being born in camp. He was the son of Gulrukh *Begchik* and full-brother of Kāmran.

923 AH.—JAN. 24TH 1517 TO JAN. 13TH 1518 AD.

a. Bābur visits Balkh.

Khwānd-amīr is the authority for the little that is known of Bābur's action in this year (H.S. iii, 367 *et seq.*). It is connected with the doings of Badī'u'z-zamān *Bāi-qarā's* son Muḥammad-i-zamān. This Mīrzā had had great wanderings, during a part of which Khwānd-amīr was with him. In 920 AH. he was in Shāh Ismā'īl's service and in Balkh, but was not able to keep it. Bābur invited him to Kābul,—the date of invitation will have been later therefore than Bābur's return there at the end of 920 AH. The Mīrzā was on his way but was dissuaded from going into Kābul by Mahdī Khwāja and went instead into

¹ One of the mutineers named as in this affair (T.R. p. 257) was Sl. Qulī *chūnāq*, a circumstance attracting attention by its bearing on the cause of the *lacunae* in the *Bābur-nāma*, inasmuch as Bābur, writing at the end of his life, expresses (f. 65) his intention to tell of this man's future misdeeds. These misdeeds may have been also at Ḥiṣār and in the attack there made on Bābur ; they are known from Ḥaidar to have been done at Ghaznī ; both times fall within this present gap. Hence it is clear that Bābur meant to write of the events falling in the gap of 914 AH. onwards.

Ghurjistān. Bābur was angered by his non-arrival and pursued him in order to punish him but did not succeed in reaching Ghurjistān and went back to Kābul by way of Fīrūz-koh and Ghūr. The Mīrzā was captured eventually and sent to Kābul. Bābur treated him with kindness, after a few months gave him his daughter Ma'šūma in marriage, and sent him to Balkh. He appears to have been still in Balkh when Khwānd-amīr was writing of the above occurrences in 929 AH. The marriage took place either at the end of 923 or beginning of 924 AH. The Mīrzā was then 21, Ma'šūma 9; she almost certainly did not then go to Balkh. At some time in 923 AH. Bābur is said by Khwānd-amīr to have visited that town.¹

b. Attempt on Qandahār.

In this year Bābur marched for Qandahār but the move ended peacefully, because a way was opened for gifts and terms by an illness which befell him when he was near the town.

The *Tārīkh-i-sind* gives what purports to be Shāh Beg's explanation of Bābur's repeated attempts on Qandahār. He said these had been made and would be made because Bābur had not forgiven Muqīm for taking Kābul 14 years earlier from the Tīmūrid 'Abdu'r-razzāq; that this had brought him to Qandahār in 913 AH., this had made him then take away Māh-chuchak, Muqīm's daughter; that there were now (923 AH.) many unemployed Mīrzās in Kābul for whom posts could not be found in regions where the Persians and Aūzbegs were dominant; that an outlet for their ambitions and for Bābur's own would be sought against the weaker opponent he himself was.

Bābur's decision to attack in this year is said to have been taken while Shāh Beg was still a prisoner of Shāh Ismā'il in the Harāt country; he must have been released meantime by the admirable patience of his slave Saṃbhal.

924 AH.—JAN. 13TH 1518 TO JAN. 3RD 1519 AD.

In this year Shāh Beg's son Shāh Ḥasan came to Bābur after quarrel with his father. He stayed some two years, and during

¹ In 925 AH. (ff. 227 and 238) mention is made of courtesies exchanged between Bābur and Muḥammad-i-zamān in Balkh. The Mīrzā was with Bābur later on in Hindūstān.

that time was married to Khalīfa's daughter Gul-barg (Rose-leaf). His return to Qandahār will have taken place shortly before Bābur's campaign of 926 A.H. against it, a renewed effort which resulted in possession on Shawwāl 13th 928 A.H. (Sep. 6th 1522 AD.).¹

In this year began the campaign in the north-east territories of Kābul, an account of which is carried on in the diary of 925 A.H. It would seem that in the present year Chaghān-sarāi was captured, and also the fortress at the head of the valley of Bābā-qarā, belonging to Ḥaidar-i-'alī *Bajaurī* (f. 216b).²

¹ Mīr Ma'sūm's *Tārīkh-i-sind* is the chief authority for Bābur's action after 913 A.H. against Shāh Beg in Qandahār; its translation, made in 1846 by Major Malet, shews some manifestly wrong dates; they appear also in the B.M. MS. of the work

² f. 216b and note to "Monday".

925 A.H.—JAN. 3RD TO DEC. 23RD 1519 AD.¹

(a. *Bābur takes the fort of Bajaur.*)

(*Jan. 3rd*) On Monday² the first day of the month of Muḥarram, there was a violent earthquake in the lower part of the dale (*julga*) of Chandāwal,³ which lasted nearly half an astronomical hour.

(*Jan. 4th*) Marching at dawn from that camp with the intention of attacking the fort of Bajaur,⁴ we dismounted near it and sent a trusty man of the Dilazāk⁵ Afghāns to advise its

¹ Elph. MS. f. 173b; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 178 and 217 f. 149; Mems. p. 246. The whole of the Hījra year is included in 1519 AD. (Erskine). What follows here and completes the Kābul section of the *Bābur-nāma* is a diary of a little over 13 months' length, supplemented by matter of later entry. The product has the character of a draft, awaiting revision to harmonize it in style and, partly, in topic with the composed narrative that breaks off under 914 A.H.; for the diary, written some 11 years earlier than that composed narrative, varies, as it would be expected *à priori* to vary, in style and topic from the terse, lucid and idiomatic output of Bābur's literary maturity. A good many obscure words and phrases in it, several new from Bābur's pen, have opposed difficulty to scribes and translators. Interesting as such *minutiae* are to a close observer of Turkī and of Bābur's diction, comment on all would be tedious; a few will be found noted, as also will such details as fix the date of entry for supplementary matter.

² Here Mr. Erskine notes that Dr. Leyden's translation begins again; it broke off on f. 180b, and finally ends on f. 223b.

³ This name is often found transliterated as Chandul or [mod.] Jandul but the Hai. MS. supports Raverty's opinion that Chandāwal is correct.

The year 925 A.H. opens with Bābur far from Kābul and east of the Khahr (fort) he is about to attack. Afghān and other sources allow surmise of his route to that position; he may have come down into the Chandāwal-valley, first, from taking Chaghān-sarāi (f. 124, f. 134 and n.), and, secondly, from taking the Gibri stronghold of Ḥaidar-i-'alī *Bajauri* which stood at the head of the Bābā Qarā-valley. The latter surmise is supported by the romantic tales of Afghān chroniclers which at this date bring into history Bābur's Afghān wife, Bibi Mubāraka (f. 220b and note; Mems. p. 250 n.; and Appendix K, *An Afghān legend*). (It must be observed here that R.'s *Notes* (pp. 117, 128) confuse the two sieges, *viz.* of the Gibri fort in 924 A.H. and of the Khahr of Bajaur in 925 A.H.)

⁴ Raverty lays stress on the circumstance that the fort Bābur now attacks has never been known as Bajaur, but always simply as Khahr, the fort (the Arabic name for the place being, he says, plain *Shahr*); just as the main stream is called simply Rūd (the torrent). The name Khahr is still used, as modern maps shew. There are indeed two neighbouring places known simply as Khahr (Fort), *i.e.* one at the mouth of the "Mahmand-valley" of modern campaigns, the other near the Malakand (Fincastle's map).

⁵ This word the Hai. MS. writes, *passim*, Dilah-zāk.

sultān¹ and people to take up a position of service (*qullūq*) and surrender the fort. Not accepting this counsel, that stupid and ill-fated band sent back a wild answer, where-upon the army was ordered to make ready mantelets, ladders and other appliances for taking a fort. For this purpose a day's (*Jan. 5th*) halt was made on that same ground.

Fol. 217.

(*Jan. 6th*) On Thursday the 4th of Muḥarram, orders were given that the army should put on mail, arm and get to horse;² that the left wing should move swiftly to the upper side of the fort, cross the water at the water-entry,³ and dismount on the north side of the fort; that the centre, not taking the way across the water, should dismount in the rough, up-and-down land to the north-west of the fort; and that the right should dismount to the west of the lower gate. While the begs of the left under Dost Beg were dismounting, after crossing the water, a hundred to a hundred and fifty men on foot came out of the fort, shooting arrows. The begs, shooting in their turn, advanced till they had forced those men back to the foot of the ramparts, Mullā 'Abdu'l-malūk of Khwāst, like a madman,⁴ going up right under them on his horse. There and then the fort would have been taken if the ladders and mantelets had been ready, and if it had not been so late in the day. Mullā Tirik-i-'alī⁵ and a servant of Tīngri-bīrdī crossed swords with the enemy; each overcame his man, cut off and brought in his head; for this each was promised a reward.

As the Bajauris had never before seen matchlocks (*tufang*) they at first took no care about them, indeed they made fun when they heard the report and answered it by unseemly

¹ Either Haidar-i-'alī himself or his nephew, the latter more probably, since no name is mentioned.

² Looking at the position assigned by maps to Khahr, in the *dū-āb* of the Charmanga-water and the Rūd of Bajaur, it may be that Bābur's left moved along the east bank of the first-named stream and crossed it into the *dū-āb*, while his centre went direct to its post, along the west side of the fort.

³ *sū-kirishī*; to interpret which needs local knowledge; it might mean where water entered the fort, or where water disembogued from narrows, or, perhaps, where water is entered for a ford. (The verb *kirmāk* occurs on f. 154b and f. 227 to describe water coming down in spate.)

⁴ *diwānawār*, perhaps a jest on a sobriquet earned before this exploit, perhaps the cause of the man's later sobriquet *diwāna* (f. 245b).

⁵ Text, *tirik*, read by Erskine and de Courteille as Turk; it might however be a Turki component in Jān-i-'alī or Muḥibb-i-'alī. (Cf. Zenker *s.n. tirik*.)

gestures. On that day¹ Ustād 'Alī-qulī shot at and brought down five men with his matchlock; Walī the Treasurer, for his part, brought down two; other matchlockmen were also very active in firing and did well, shooting through shield, through cuirass, through *kusarū*,² and bringing down one man after another. Perhaps 7, 8, or 10 Bajauris had fallen to the matchlock-fire (*ṣarḥ*) before night. After that it so became that not a head could be put out because of the fire. The order was given, "It is night; let the army retire, and at dawn, if the appliances are ready, let them swarm up into the fort." Fol. 217b.

(Jan. 7th) At the first dawn of light (*farṣ waqt*) on Friday the 5th of Muḥarram, orders were given that, when the battle-nagarets had sounded, the army should advance, each man from his place to his appointed post (*yīrlīk yīrdīn*) and should swarm up. The left and centre advanced from their ground with mantelets in place all along their lines, fixed their ladders, and swarmed up them. The whole left hand of the centre, under Khalifa, Shāh Ḥasan Arghūn and Yūsuf's Aḥmad, was ordered to reinforce the left wing. Dost Beg's men went forward to the foot of the north-eastern tower of the fort, and busied themselves in undermining and bringing it down. Ustād 'Alī-qulī was there also; he shot very well on that day with his matchlock, and he twice fired off the *firingī*.³ Walī the Treasurer also brought down a man with his matchlock. Malik 'Alī *quṭnī*⁴ was first up a ladder of all the men from the left hand of the centre,

¹ *aūshūl gūnī*, which contrasts with the frequent *aūshbū gūnī* (this same day, today) of manifestly diary entries; it may indicate that the full account of the siege is a later supplement.

² This puzzling word might mean cow-horn (*kau-sarū*) and stand for the common horn trumpet. Erskine and de Courteille have read it as *gau-sar*, the first explaining it as *cow-head*, surmised to be a protection for matchlockmen when loading; the second, as *justaucorps de cuir*. That the word is baffling is shewn by its omission in I. O. 215 (f. 178b), in 217 (f. 149b) and in Muḥ. *Shīrāzī*'s lith. ed. (p. 137).

³ or *farangī*. Much has been written concerning the early use of gun-powder in the East. There is, however, no well-authenticated fact to prove the existence of anything like artillery there, till it was introduced from Europe. Bābur here, and in other places (f. 267) calls his larger ordnance *Firingī*, a proof that they were then regarded as owing their origin to Europe. The Turks, in consequence of their constant intercourse with the nations of the West, have always excelled all the other Orientals in the use of artillery; and, when heavy cannon were first used in India, Europeans or Turks were engaged to serve them (Erskine). It is owing no doubt to the preceding gap in his writings that we are deprived of Bābur's account of his own introduction to fire-arms. See E. & D.'s *History of India*, vi, Appendix *On the early use of gun-powder in India*.

⁴ var. *quṭbī*, *quḥīnī*.

Fol. 218.

and there was busy with fight and blow. At the post of the centre, Muh. 'Ali *Jang-jang*¹ and his younger brother Nau-roz got up, each by a different ladder, and made lance and sword to touch. Bābā the waiting man (*yasāwāl*), getting up by another ladder, occupied himself in breaking down the fort-wall with his axe. Most of our braves went well forward, shooting off dense flights of arrows and not letting the enemy put out a head; others made themselves desperately busy in breaching and pulling down the fort, caring naught for the enemy's fight and blow, giving no eye to his arrows and stones. By breakfast-time Dost Beg's men had undermined and breached the north-eastern tower, got in and put the foe to flight. The men of the centre got in up the ladders by the same time, but those (*aūl*) others were first (*awwāl*?) in.² By the favour and pleasure of the High God, this strong and mighty fort was taken in two or three astronomical hours! Matching the fort were the utter struggle and effort of our braves; distinguish themselves they did, and won the name and fame of heroes.

As the Bajaurīs were rebels and at enmity with the people of Islām, and as, by reason of the heathenish and hostile customs prevailing in their midst, the very name of Islām was rooted out from their tribe, they were put to general massacre and their wives and children were made captive. At a guess more than 3000 men went to their death; as the fight did not reach to the eastern side of the fort, a few got away there.

Fol. 218b.

The fort taken, we entered and inspected it. On the walls, in houses, streets and alleys, the dead lay, in what numbers! Comers and goers to and fro were passing over the bodies. Returning from our inspection, we sat down in the Bajaur sultān's residence. The country of Bajaur we bestowed on Khwāja Kalān,³ assigning a large number of braves to reinforce him. At the Evening Prayer we went back to camp.

¹ This sobriquet might mean "ever a fighter", or an "argle-bargler", or a brass shilling (Zenker), or (if written *jing-jing*) that the man was visaged like the bearded reeding (Scully in Shaw's Vocabulary). The *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* includes a Mirak Khān *Jang-jang* in its list of Akbar's Commanders.

² *ghūl-dān* (*awwāl*) *aūl qūrghān-gha chīgī*. I suggest to supply *awwāl*, first, on the warrant of Bābur's later statement (f. 234b) that Dost was first in.

³ He was a son of Maulānā Muh. *Šadr*, one of the chief men of 'Umar-shaikh M.'s Court; he had six brothers, all of whom spent their lives in Bābur's service, to whom, if we may believe Abū'l-faḡl, they were distantly related (Erskine).

(b. Movements in Bajaur.)

(*Jan. 8th*) Marching at dawn (Muḥ. 6th), we dismounted by the spring¹ of Bābā Qarā in the dale of Bajaur. At Khwāja Kalān's request the prisoners remaining were pardoned their offences, reunited to their wives and children, and given leave to go, but several sultāns and of the most stubborn were made to reach their doom of death. Some heads of sultāns and of others were sent to Kābul with the news of success; some also to Badakhshān, Qūndūz and Balkh with the letters-of-victory.

Shāh Manṣūr Yūsuf-zāī,—he was with us as an envoy from his tribe,—² was an eye-witness of the victory and general massacre. We allowed him to leave after putting a coat (*tūn*) on him and after writing orders with threats to the Yūsuf-zāī.

(*Jan. 11th*) With mind easy about the important affairs of the Bajaur fort, we marched, on Tuesday the 9th of Muḥarram, one *kuroh* (2 m.) down the dale of Bajaur and ordered that a tower of heads should be set up on the rising-ground.

(*Jan. 12th*) On Wednesday the 10th of Muḥarram, we rode out to visit the Bajaur fort. There was a wine-party in Khwāja Kalān's house,³ several goat-skins of wine having been brought

¹ Bābur now returns towards the east, down the Rūd. The *chashma* by which he encamped, would seem to be near the mouth of the valley of Bābā Qarā, one 30 miles long; it may have been, anglicé, a spring [not that of the main stream of the long valley], but the word may be used as it seems to be of the water supplying the Bāgh-i-ṣafā (f. 224), i.e. to denote the first considerable gathering-place of small head-waters. It will be observed a few lines further on that this same valley seems to be meant by "Khwāja Khizr".

² He will have joined Bābur previous to Muḥarram 925 AH.

³ This statement, the first we have, that Bābur has broken Musalmān Law against stimulants (f. 49 and n.), is followed by many others more explicit, jotting down where and what and sometimes why he drank, in a way which arrests attention and asks some other explanation than that it is an unabashed record of conviviality such conceivably as a non-Musalmān might write. Bābur is now 37 years old; he had obeyed the Law till past early manhood; he wished to return to obedience at 40; he frequently mentions his lapses by a word which can be translated as "commitment of sin" (*irtqāb*); one gathers that he did not at any time disobey with easy conscience. Does it explain his singular record,—one made in what amongst ourselves would be regarded as a private diary,—that his sins were created by Law? Had he a balance of reparation in his thoughts?

Detaching into their separate class as excesses, all his instances of confessed drunkenness, there remains much in his record which, seen from a non-Musalmān point of view, is venial; e.g. his *ṣubūhi* appears to be the "morning" of the Scot, the *Morgen-trank* of the Teuton; his afternoon cup, in the open air usually, may have been no worse than the sober glass of beer or local wine of modern Continental Europe. Many of these legal sins of his record were interludes in the day's long ride, stirrup-cups some of them, all in a period of strenuous physical activity. Many of his

down by Kāfirs neighbouring on Bajaur. All wine and fruit had in Bajaur comes from adjacent parts of Kāfiristān.

(*Jan. 13th*) We spent the night there and after inspecting the towers and ramparts of the fort early in the morning (Muḥ. 11th), I mounted and went back to camp.

(*Jan. 14th*) Marching at dawn (Muḥ. 12th), we dismounted on the bank of the Khwāja Khizr torrent.¹

(*Jan. 15th*) Marching thence, we dismounted (Muḥ. 13th) on the bank of the Chandāwal torrent. Here all those inscribed in the Bajaur reinforcement, were ordered to leave.

(*Jan. 16th*) On Sunday the 14th of Muḥarram, a standard was bestowed on Khwāja Kalān and leave given him for Bajaur. A few days after I had let him go, the following little verse having come into my head, it was written down and sent to him :—²

Not such the pact and bargain betwixt my friend and me,
At length the tooth of parting, unpacted grief for me !
Against caprice of Fortune, what weapons (*chāra*) arm the man ?
At length by force of arms (*ba jaur*) my friend is snatched from me !

(*Jan. 19th*) On Wednesday the 17th of Muḥarram, Sl. ‘Alā’u’d-dīn of Sawād, the rival (*mu’āriḡ*) of Sl. Wais of Sawād,³ came and waited on me.

records are collective and are phrased impersonally ; they mention that there was drinking, drunkenness even, but they give details sometimes such as only a sober observer could include.

Bābur names a few men as drunkards, a few as entirely obedient ; most of his men seem not to have obeyed the Law and may have been “temperate drinkers” ; they effected work, Bābur amongst them, which habitual drunkards could not have compassed. Spite of all he writes of his worst excesses, it must be just to remember his Musalmān conscience, and also the distorting power of a fictitious sin. Though he broke the law binding all men against excess, and this on several confessed occasions, his rule may have been no worse than that of the ordinarily temperate Western. It cannot but lighten judgment that his recorded lapses from Law were often prompted by the bounty and splendour of Nature ; were committed amidst the falling petals of fruit-blossom, the flaming fire of autumn leaves, where the eye rested on the *arghwān* or the orange grove, the coloured harvest of corn or vine.

¹ As Mr. Erskine observes, there seems to be no valley except that of Bābā Qarā, between the Khahr and the Chandāwal-valley ; “Khwāja Khizr” and “Bābā Qarā” may be one and the same valley.

² Time and ingenuity would be needed to bring over into English all the quips of this verse. The most obvious pun is, of course, that on Bajaur as the compelling cause (*ba jaur*) of the parting ; others may be meant on *guṣūd* and *gasūd*, on *sazid* and *chāra*. The verse would provide the holiday amusement of extracting from it two justifiable translations.

³ His possessions extended from the river of Sawād to Bāramūla ; he was expelled from them by the Yūsuf-zāi (Erskine).

(*Jan. 20th*) On Thursday the 18th of the month, we hunted the hill between Bajaur and Chandāwal.¹ There the *būghū-marāl*² have become quite black, except for the tail which is of another colour; lower down, in Hindūstān, they seem to become black all over.³ Today a *sārīg-qūsh*⁴ was taken; that was black all over, its very eyes being black! Today an eagle (*būrkhūt*)⁵ took a deer (*kīyīk*).

Corn being somewhat scarce in the army, we went into the Kahrāj-valley, and took some.

Fol. 219b.

(*Jan. 21st*) On Friday (Muḥ. 19th) we marched for Sawād, with the intention of attacking the Yūsuf-zāi Afghāns, and dismounted in between⁶ the water of Panj-kūra and the united waters of Chandāwal and Bajaur. Shāh Manšūr Yūsuf-zāi had brought a few well-flavoured and quite intoxicating confections (*kamālī*); making one of them into three, I ate one portion, Gadāi Ṭaghāi another, 'Abdu'l-lāh the librarian another. It produced remarkable intoxication; so much so that at the Evening Prayer when the begs gathered for counsel, I was not able to go out. A strange thing it was! If in these days⁷ I ate the whole of such a confection, I doubt if it would produce half as much intoxication.

(*c. An impost laid on Kahrāj.*)

(*Jan. 22nd*) Marching from that ground, (Muḥ. 20th), we dismounted over against Kahrāj, at the mouth of the valleys of Kahrāj and Peshgrām.⁸ Snow fell ankle-deep while we were on that ground; it would seem to be rare for snow to fall thereabouts, for people were much surprised. In agreement with

¹ This will be the naze of the n.e. rampart of the Bābā Qarā valley.

² f. 4 and note; f. 276. Bābur seems to use the name for several varieties of deer.

³ There is here, perhaps, a jesting allusion to the darkening of complexion amongst the inhabitants of countries from west to east, from Highlands to Indian plains.

⁴ In Dr. E. D. Ross' *Polyglot list of birds* the *sārigh* (*sārīg*)-*qūsh* is said to frequent fields of ripening grain; this suggests to translate its name as Thief-bird.

⁵ *Aquila chrysaetos*, the hunting eagle.

⁶ This *ārālīgh* might be identified with the "Miankalai" of maps (since Soghd, lying between two arms of the Zar-afshān is known also as Mīānkāl), but Raverty explains the Bajaur Miankalai to mean Village of the holy men (*mīān*).

⁷ After 933 A.H. presumably, when final work on the B.N. was in progress.

⁸ Mr. Erskine notes that Pesh-grām lies north of Mahyar (on the Chandāwal-water), and that he has not found Kahrāj (or Kohrāj). Judging from Bābur's next movements, the two valleys he names may be those in succession east of Chandāwal.

Sl. Wais of Sawād there was laid on the Kahrāj people an impost of 4000 ass-loads of rice for the use of the army, and he himself was sent to collect it. Never before had those rude mountaineers borne such a burden; they could not give (all) the grain and were brought to ruin.

(*cc. Raid on Panj-kūra.*)

Fol. 220. (*Jan. 25th*) On Tuesday the 23rd of Muḥarram an army was sent under Hindū Beg to raid Panj-kūra. Panj-kūra lies more than half-way up the mountain; ¹ to reach its villages a person must go for nearly a *kuroh* (2 m.) through a pass. The people had fled and got away; our men brought a few beasts of sorts, and masses of corn from their houses.

(*Jan. 26th*) Next day (Muh. 24th) Qūj Beg was put at the head of a force and sent out to raid.

(*Jan. 27th*) On Thursday the 25th of the month, we dismounted at the village of Māndīsh, in the trough of the Kahrāj-valley, for the purpose of getting corn for the army.

(*d. Māhīm's adoption of Dil-dār's unborn child.*)

(*Jan. 28th*) Several children born of Humāyūn's mother had not lived. Hind-āl was not yet born.² While we were in those parts, came a letter from Māhīm in which she wrote, "Whether it be a boy, whether it be a girl, is my luck and chance; give it to me; I will declare it my child and will take charge of it." On Friday the 26th of the month, we being still on that ground, Yūsuf-i-'ālī the stirrup-holder was sent off to Kābul with letters³ bestowing Hind-āl, not yet born, on Māhīm.

¹ There is hardly any level ground in the cleft of the Panj-kūra (R.'s *Notes* p. 193); the villages are perched high on the sides of the valley. The pass leading to them may be Katgola (Fincastle's Map).

² This account of Hind-āl's adoption is sufficiently confused to explain why a note, made apparently by Humāyūn, should have been appended to it (Appendix L, *On Hind-āl's adoption*). The confusion reminds the reader that he has before him a sort of memorandum only, diary jottings, apt to be allusive and abbreviated. The expected child was Dil-dār's; Māhīm, using her right as principal wife, asked for it to be given to her. That the babe in question is here called Hind-āl shews that at least part of this account of his adoption was added after the birth and naming (f. 227).

³ One would be, no doubt, for Dil-dār's own information. She then had no son but had two daughters, Gul-rang and Gul-chihra. News of Hind-āl's birth reached Bābur in Bhīra, some six weeks later (f. 227).

(dd. Construction of a stone platform.)

While we were still on that same ground in the Māndīsh-country, I had a platform made with stones (*tāsh bīla*) on a height in the middle of the valley, so large that it held the tents of the advance-camp. All the household and soldiers carried the stones for it, one by one like ants.

(e. Bābur's marriage with his Afghān wife, Bībī Mubāraka.)

In order to conciliate the Yūsuf-zāi horde, I had asked for a daughter of one of my well-wishers, Malik Sulaimān Shāh's son Malik Shāh Maṣṣūr, at the time he came to me as envoy from the Yūsuf-zāi Afghāns.¹ Fol. 220b.

While we were on this ground news came that his daughter² was on her way with the Yūsuf-zāi tribute. At the Evening Prayer there was a wine-party to which Sl. 'Alā'u'd-dīn (of Sawād) was invited and at which he was given a seat and special dress of honour (*khilcat-i-khāṣa*).

(*Jan. 30th*) On Sunday the 28th, we marched from that valley. Shāh Maṣṣūr's younger brother Tāūs (Handsome) Khān brought the above-mentioned daughter of his brother to our ground after we had dismounted.

(f. Repopulation of the fort of Bajaur.)

For the convenience of having the Bī-sūt people in Bajaur-fort,³ Yūsuf'i-'alī the taster was sent from this camp to get them on the march and take them to that fort. Also, written orders were despatched to Kābul that the army there left should join us.

(*Feb. 4th*) On Friday the 3rd of the month of Ṣafar, we dismounted at the confluence of the waters of Bajaur and Panj-kūra.

(*Feb. 6th*) On Sunday the 5th of the month, we went from that ground to Bajaur where there was a drinking-party in Khwāja Kalān's house.

¹ f. 218b.

² Bībī Mubāraka, the Afghānī Aghācha of Gul-badan. An attractive picture of her is drawn by the *Tawārīkh-i-hāfi-i-rahmat-khānī*. As this gives not only one of Bābur's romantic adventures but historical matter, I append it in my husband's translation [(A.Q.R. April 1901)] as Appendix K, *An Afghān Legend*.

³ *Bī-sūt aīl-i-ning Bajaur-qūrgānī-dā manāṣabatī-bār jihatī*; a characteristic phrase.

(*g. Expedition against the Afghān clans.*)

(*Feb. 8th*) On Tuesday the 7th of the month the begs and the Dilazāk Afghān headmen were summoned, and, after consultation, matters were left at this:—"The year is at its end,¹ only a few days of the Fish are left; the plainsmen have carried in all their corn; if we went now into Sawād, the army would dwindle through getting no corn. The thing to do is to march along the Aṃbahar and Pānī-mānī road, cross the Sawād-water above Hash-nagar, and surprise the Yūsuf-zāi and Muḥammadi Afghāns who are located in the plain over against the Yūsuf-zāi *sangur* of Māhūrā. Another year, coming earlier in the harvest-time, the Afghāns of this place must be our first thought." So the matter was left.

Fol. 221.

(*Feb. 9th*) Next day, Wednesday, we bestowed horses and robes on Sl. Wais and Sl. 'Alā'u'u-dīn of Sawād, gave them leave to go, marched off ourselves and dismounted over against Bajaur.

(*Feb. 10th*) We marched next day, leaving Shāh Manṣūr's daughter in Bajaur-fort until the return of the army. We dismounted after passing Khwāja Khizr, and from that camp leave was given to Khwāja Kalān; and the heavy baggage, the worn-out horses and superfluous effects of the army were started off into Lamghān by the Kūnār road.

(*Feb. 11th*) Next morning Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān was put in charge of the camel baggage-train and started off by the Qūrghā-tū and Darwāza road, through the Qarā-kūpa-pass. Riding light for the raid, we ourselves crossed the Aṃbahar-pass, and yet another great pass, and dismounted at Pānī-mālī nearer² the Afternoon Prayer. Aūghān-bīrdī was sent forward with a few others to learn³ how things were.

(*Feb. 12th*) The distance between us and the Afghāns being short, we did not make an early start. Aūghān-bīrdī came back at breakfast-time.⁴ He had got the better of an Afghān

¹ Perhaps the end of the early spring-harvest and the spring harvesting-year. It is not the end of the campaigning year, manifestly; and it is at the beginning of both the solar and lunar years.

² Perhaps, more than half-way between the Mid-day and Afternoon Prayers. So too in the annals of Feb. 12th.

³ *īl āūghālī* (Pers. *zabān-gīrī*), a new phrase in the B.N.

⁴ *chāshī*, which, being half-way between sunrise and the meridian, is a variable hour.

and had cut his head off, but had dropped it on the road. He brought no news so sure as the heart asks (*kūnkūl-tīlādīk*). Mid-day come, we marched on, crossed the Sawād-water, and dismounted nearer¹ the Afternoon Prayer. At the Bed-time Prayer, we remounted and rode swiftly on. Fol. 221b.

(*Feb. 13th*) Rustam *Turkmān* had been sent scouting; when the Sun was spear-high he brought word that the Afghāns had heard about us and were shifting about, one body of them making off by the mountain-road. On this we moved the faster, sending raiders on ahead who killed a few, cut off their heads and brought a band of prisoners, some cattle and flocks. The Dilazāk Afghāns also cut off and brought in a few heads. Turning back, we dismounted near Kātlāng and from there sent a guide to meet the baggage-train under Khwāja Mir-i-mīrān and bring it to join us in Maqām.²

(*Feb. 14th*) Marching on next day, we dismounted between Kātlāng and Maqām. A man of Shāh Maṣṣūr's arrived. Khusrau Kūkūldāsh and Aḥmadī the secretary were sent with a few more to meet the baggage-train.

(*Feb. 15th*) On Wednesday the 14th of the month, the baggage-train rejoined us while we were dismounting at Maqām.

It will have been within the previous 30 or 40 years that a heretic qalandar named Shahbāz perverted a body of Yūsuf-zāi and another of Dilazāk. His tomb was on a free and dominating height of the lower hill at the bill (*tūmshūq*) of the Maqām mountain. Thought I, "What is there to recommend the tomb of a heretic qalandar for a place in air so free?" and ordered the tomb destroyed and levelled with the ground. The place was so charming and open that we elected to sit there some time and to eat a confection (*ma'jūn*). Fol. 222.

(*h. Bābur crosses the Indus for the first time.*)

We had turned off from Bajaur with Bhīra in our thoughts.³ Ever since we came into Kābul it had been in my mind to move on Hindūstān, but this had not been done for a variety of

¹ See n. 2, f. 221.

² Perhaps Maqām is the Mardān of maps.

³ Bhīra, on the Jehlam, is now in the Shāhpūr district of the Panj-āb.

reasons. Nothing to count had fallen into the soldiers' hands during the three or four months we had been leading this army. Now that Bhīra, the borderland of Hindūstān, was so near, I thought a something might fall into our men's hands if, riding light, we went suddenly into it. To this thought I clung, but some of my well-wishers, after we had raided the Afghāns and dismounted at Maqām, set the matter in this way before me:—"If we are to go into Hindūstān, it should be on a proper basis; one part of the army stayed behind in Kābul; a body of effective braves was left behind in Bajaur; a good part of this army has gone into Lamghān because its horses were worn-out; and the horses of those who have come this far, are so poor that they have not a day's hard riding in them." Reasonable as these considerations were, yet, having made the start, we paid no

Fol. 222b.

attention to them but set off next day for the ford through the water of Sind.¹ Mīr Muḥammad the raftsman and his elder and younger brethren were sent with a few braves to examine the Sind-river (*daryā*), above and below the ford. (Feb. 16th) After starting off the camp for the river, I went to hunt rhinoceros on the Sawātī side which place people call also Karg-khāna (Rhino-home).² A few were discovered but the jungle was dense and they did not come out of it. When one with a calf came into the open and betook itself to flight, many arrows were shot at it and it rushed into the near jungle; the jungle was fired but that same rhino was not had. Another calf was killed as it lay, scorched by the fire, writhing and palpitating. Each person took a share of the spoil. After leaving Sawātī, we wandered about a good deal; it was the Bed-time Prayer when we got to camp.

Those sent to examine the ford came back after doing it.

(Feb. 17th) Next day, Thursday the 16th,³ the horses and baggage-camels crossed through the ford and the camp-bazar

¹ This will be the ford on the direct road from Mardān for the eastward (Elphinstone's *Caulul* ii, 416).

² The position of Sawātī is represented by the Suābī of the G. of I. map (1909 AD.). Writing in about 1813 AD. Mr. Erskine notes as worthy of record that the rhinoceros was at that date no longer found west of the Indus.

³ Elph. MS. *ghura*, the 1st, but this is corrected to 16th by a marginal note. The Hai. MS. here, as in some other places, has the context for a number, but omits the figures. So does also the Elph. MS. in a good many places.

and foot-soldiers were put over on rafts. Some Nīl-ābīs came and saw me at the ford-head (*guzar-bāshī*), bringing a horse in mail and 300 *shāhrukhīs* as an offering. At the Mid-day Prayer of this same day, when every-one had crossed the river, we marched on; we went on until one watch of the night had passed (*circa* 9 p.m.) when we dismounted near the water of Kacha-kot.¹

(*Feb. 18th*) Marching on next day, we crossed the Kacha-kot-water; noon returning, went through the Sangdakī-pass and dismounted. While Sayyid Qāsim Lord of the Gate was in charge of the rear (*chāghdāwal*) he overcame a few Gujūrs who had got up with the rear march, cut off and brought in 4 or 5 of their heads. Fol. 223.

(*Feb. 19th*) Marching thence at dawn and crossing the Sūhān-water, we dismounted at the Mid-day Prayer. Those behind kept coming in till midnight; the march had been mightily long, and, as many horses were weak and out-of-condition, a great number were left on the road.

(i. *The Salt-range.*)

Fourteen miles (7 *kos*) north of Bhīra lies the mountain-range written of in the *Zafar-nāma* and other books as the Koh-i-jūd.² I had not known why it was called this; I now knew. On it dwell two tribes, descendants from one parent-source, one is called Jūd, the other Janjūha. These two from of old have been the rulers and lawful commanders of the peoples and hordes (*aūlūs*) of the range and of the country between Bhīra and Nīl-āb. Their rule is friendly and brotherly however; they cannot take what their hearts might desire; the portion ancient custom has fixed is given and taken, no less and no more. The agreement is to give one *shāhrukhī*³ for each yoke of oxen and seven for headship in a household; there is also service in the army. The Jūd and Janjūha both are divided into several

¹ This is the Harru. Mr. Erskine observes that Bābur appears to have turned sharp south after crossing it, since he ascended a pass so soon after leaving the Indus and reached the Sūhān so soon.

² *i.e.* the Salt-range.

³ Mr. Erskine notes that (in his day) a *shāhrukhī* may be taken at a shilling or eleven pence sterling.

Fol. 223^b. clans. The Koh-i-jūd runs for 14 miles along the Bhīra country, taking off from those Kashmīr mountains that are one with Hindu-kūsh, and it draws out to the south-west as far as the foot of Dīn-kot on the Sind-river.¹ On one half of it are the Jūd, the Janjūha on the other. People call it Koh-i-jūd through connecting it with the Jūd tribe.² The principal headman gets the title of Rāī; others, his younger brothers and sons, are styled Malik. The Janjūha headmen are maternal uncles of Langar Khan. The ruler of the people and horde near the Sūhān-water was named Malik Hast. The name originally was Asad but as Hindūstānīs sometimes drop a vowel *e.g.* they say *khabr* for *khābar* (news), they had said Asd for Asad, and this went on to Hast.

Langar Khān was sent off to Malik Hast at once when we dismounted. He galloped off, made Malik Hast hopeful of our favour and kindness, and at the Bed-time Prayer, returned with him. Malik Hast brought an offering of a horse in mail and waited on me. He may have been 22 or 23 years old.³

The various flocks and herds belonging to the country-people were close round our camp. As it was always in my heart to possess Hindūstān, and as these several countries, Bhīra, Khūsh-āb, Chīn-āb and Chīnūt⁴ had once been held by the Turk, I pictured them as my own and was resolved to get them into my hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat these hillmen well, this following order was given :—"Do no hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton-ends and broken needles!"

Fol. 224.

¹ It is somewhat difficult not to forget that a man who, like Bābur, records so many observations of geographical position, had no guidance from Surveys, Gazetteers and Books of Travel. Most of his records are those of personal observation.

² In this sentence Mr. Erskine read a reference to the Musalmān Ararat, the Koh-i-jūd on the left bank of the Tigris. What I have set down translates the Turkī words but, taking account of Bābur's eye for the double use of a word, and Erskine's careful work, done too in India, the Turkī may imply reference to the Ararat-like summit of Sakeswar.

³ Here Dr. Leyden's version finally ends (Erskine).

⁴ Bhīra, as has been noted, is on the Jehlam; Khūsh-āb is 40 m. lower down the same river; Chīnūt (Chīnī-wat?) is 50 miles south of Bhīra; Chīn-āb (China-water?) seems the name of a tract only and not of a residential centre; it will be in the Bar of Kipling's border-thief. Concerning Chīnūt *see* D. G. Barkley's letter, J.R.A.S. 1899 p. 132.

(j. *The Kalda-kahār lake.*)

(*Feb. 20th*) Marching thence next day, we dismounted at the Mid-day Prayer amongst fields of densely-growing corn in Kalda-kahār.

Kalda-kahār is some 20 miles north of Bhīra, a level land shut in¹ amongst the Jūd mountains. In the middle of it is a lake some six miles round, the in-gatherings of rain from all sides. On the north of this lake lies an excellent meadow; on the hill-skirt to the west of it there is a spring² having its source in the heights overlooking the lake. The place being suitable I have made a garden there, called the Bāgh-i-ṣafā,³ as will be told later; it is a very charming place with good air.

(*Feb. 21st*) We rode from Kalda-kahār at dawn next day. When we reached the top of the Hamtātū-pass a few local people waited on me, bringing a humble gift. They were joined with 'Abdu'r-raḥīm the chief-scribe (*shaghāwāl*) and sent with him to speak the Bhīra people fair and say, "The possession of this country by a Turk has come down from of old; beware not to bring ruin on its people by giving way to fear and anxiety; our eye is on this land and on this people; raid and rapine shall not be."

We dismounted near the foot of the pass at breakfast-time, Fol. 224b. and thence sent seven or eight men ahead, under Qurbān of Chīrkh and 'Abdu'l-malūk of Khwāst. Of those sent one Mīr Muḥammad (a servant?) of Mahdī Khwāja⁴ brought in a man. A few Afghān headmen, who had come meantime with offerings and done obeisance, were joined with Langar Khān to go and speak the Bhīra people fair.

After crossing the pass and getting out of the jungle, we arrayed in right and left and centre, and moved forward for Bhīra. As

¹ *ḥaur yīrī waqī' būlūb tūr.* As on f. 160 of the valley of Khwesh, I have taken *ḥaur* to be Turkī, complete, shut in.

² *chashma* (f. 218b and note).

³ The present description is not found; there follows a mere mention only of the garden [f. 369]. This entry can be taken therefore as shewing an intention to write what is still wanting from Ṣafar 926 AH. to Ṣafar 932 AH.

⁴ Mīr Muḥ. may have been a kinsman or follower of Mahdī Khwāja. The entry on the scene, unannounced by introduction as to parentage, of the Khwāja who played a part later in Bābur's family affairs is due, no doubt, to the last gap of annals. He is mentioned in the Translator's Note, s.a. 923 AH. (See Gul-badan's H.N. Biographical Appendix s.n.)

we got near it there came in, of the servants of Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail's* son 'Alī Khān, Siktū's son *Dīwa Hindū*; with them came several of the notables of Bhīra who brought a horse and camel as an offering and did me obeisance. At the Mid-day Prayer we dismounted on the east of Bhīra, on the bank of the Bahat (Jehlam), in a sown-field, without hurt or harm being allowed to touch the people of Bhīra.

(*k. History of Bhīra.*)

Timūr Beg had gone into Hindūstān; from the time he went out again these several countries *viz.* Bhīra, Khūsh-āb, Chīn-āb and Chīnīūt, had been held by his descendants and the dependants and adherents of those descendants. After the death of Sl. Mas'ūd Mirzā and his son 'Alī *Asghar* Mirzā, the sons of Mir 'Alī Beg

(*Author's note on Sl. Mas'ūd Mirzā.*) He was the son of Süyūrghatmīsh Mirzā, son of Shāhrukh Mirzā, (son of Timūr), and was known as Sl. Mas'ūd *Kābulī* because the government and administration of Kābul and Zābul were then dependent on him (deposed 843 AH.—1440 AD.)

- Fol. 225. *viz.* Bābā-i-kābulī, Daryā Khān and Apāq Khān, known later as Ghāzī Khān, all of whom Sl. Mas'ūd M. had cherished, through their dominant position, got possession of Kābul, Zābul and the afore-named countries and *parganas* of Hindūstān. In Sl. Abū-sa'id Mirzā's time, Kābul and Zābul went from their hands, the Hindūstān countries remaining. In 910 AH. (1504 AD.) the year

(*Author's note to 910 AH.*) That year, with the wish to enter Hindūstān, Khaibar had been crossed and Parashāwūr (*sic*) had been reached, when Bāqī *Chaghānī* insisted on a move against Lower Bangash *i.e.* Kohāt, a mass of Afghāns were raided and scraped clean (*qirīb*), the Bannū plain was raided and plundered, and return was made through Dūkī (Dūgī).

I first came into Kābul, the government of Bhīra, Khūsh-āb and Chīn-āb depended on Sayyid 'Alī Khan, son of Ghāzī Khān and grandson of Mir 'Alī Beg, who read the *khutba* for Sikandar son of Buhlūl (*Lūdī Afghān*) and was subject to him. When I led that army out (910 AH.) Sayyid 'Alī Khān left Bhīra in terror, crossed the Bahat-water, and seated himself in Sher-kot, one of the villages of Bhīra. A few years later the Afghāns became suspicious about him on my account; he, giving way to his own fears and anxieties, made these countries over to the then governor

- Fol. 225b. in Lāhūr, Daulat Khān, son of Tātār Khān *Yūsuf-khail*, who

gave them to his own eldest son 'Alī Khān, and in 'Alī Khān's possession they now were.

(*Author's note on Daulat Khān Yūsuf-khān.*) This Tātār Khān, the father of Daulat Khān, was one of six or seven *sardārs* who, sallying out and becoming dominant in Hindūstān, made Buhlūl Pādshāh. He held the country north of the Satluj (*sic*) and Sahrind,¹ the revenues of which exceeded 3 *krūrs*.² On Tātār Khān's death, Śī. Sikandar (*Lūdī*), as over-lord, took those countries from Tātār Khān's sons and gave Lāhūr only to Daulat Khān. That happened a year or two before I came into the country of Kābul (910 AH.).

(1. *Bābur's journey resumed.*)

(*Feb. 22nd*) Next morning foragers were sent to several convenient places; on the same day I visited Bhīra; and on the same day Sangur Khān *Janjūha* came, made offering of a horse, and did me obeisance.

(*Feb. 23rd*) On Wednesday the 22nd of the month, the headmen and *chauderis*³ of Bhīra were summoned, a sum of 400,000 *shāhrukhīs*⁴ was agreed on as the price of peace (*māl-i-amān*), and collectors were appointed. We also made an excursion, going in a boat and there eating a confection.

(*Feb. 24th*) Haidar the standard-bearer had been sent to the Bilūchīs located in Bhīra and Khūsh-āb; on Thursday morning they made an offering of an almond-coloured *tīpūchāq* [horse], and did obeisance. As it was represented to me that some of the soldiery were behaving without sense and were laying-hands on Bhīra people, persons were sent who caused some of those senseless people to meet their death-doom, of others slit the noses and so led them round the camp. Fol. 226.

(*Feb. 25th*) On Friday came a dutiful letter from the Khūsh-ābīs; on this Shāh Shujā' *Arghūn*'s son Shāh Ḥasan was appointed to go to Khūsh-āb.

¹ or Sihrind, mod. Sirhind or Sar-i-hind (Head of Hind). It may be noted here, for what it may be found worth, that Kh(w)āfī Khān [I, 402] calls Sar-i-hind the old name, says that the place was once held by the Ghaznī dynasty and was its Indian frontier, and that Shāh-jahān changed it to Sahrind. The W.-i-B. I.O. 217 f. 155 writes Shahrind.

² Three krores or crores of dāms, at 40 to the rupee, would make this 750,000 rupees, or about £75,000 sterling (Erskine); a statement from the ancient history of the rūpī!

³ This Hindustānī word in some districts signifies the head man of a trade, in others a landholder (Erskine).

⁴ In Mr. Erskine's time this sum was reckoned to be nearly £20,000.

(*Feb. 26th*) On Saturday the 25th of the month,¹ Shāh Ḥasan was started for Khūsh-āb.

(*Feb. 27th*) On Sunday so much rain fell² that water covered all the plain. A small brackish stream³ flowing between Bhīra and the gardens in which the army lay, had become like a great river before the Mid-day Prayer; while at the ford near Bhīra there was no footing for more than an arrow's flight; people crossing had to swim. In the afternoon I rode out to watch the water coming down (*kīrkān sū*); the rain and storm were such that on the way back there was some fear about getting in to camp. I crossed that same water (*kīrkān sū*) with my horse swimming. The army-people were much alarmed; most of them abandoned tents and heavy baggage, shouldered armour, horse-mail and arms, made their horses swim and crossed bareback. Most streams flooded the plain.

(*Feb. 28th*) Next day boats were brought from the river (Jehlam), and in these most of the army brought their tents and baggage over. Towards mid-day, Qūj Beg's men went 2 miles up the water and there found a ford by which the rest crossed.

Fol. 226b.

(*March 1st*) After a night spent in Bhīra-fort, Jahān-nūma they call it, we marched early on the Tuesday morning out of the worry of the rain-flood to the higher ground north of Bhīra.

As there was some delay about the moneys asked for and agreed to (*taqabbul*), the country was divided into four districts and the begs were ordered to try to make an end of the matter. Khalifa was appointed to one district, Qūj Beg to another, Nāṣir's Dost to another, Sayyid Qāsim and Muḥibb-i-'alī to another. Picturing as our own the countries once occupied by the Turk, there was to be no over-running or plundering.

(*m. Envoys sent to the court in Dihlīz.*)

(*March 3rd*) People were always saying, "It could do no harm to send an envoy, for peace' sake, to countries that once depended

¹ Here originally neither the Elph. MS. nor the Hai. MS. had a date; it has been added to the former.

² This rain is too early for the s.w. monsoon; it was probably a severe fall of spring rain, which prevails at this season or rather earlier, and extends over all the west of Asia (Erskine).

³ *az ghūna shor sū*. Streams rising in the Salt-range become brackish on reaching its skirts (G. of I.).

on the Turk." Accordingly on Thursday the 1st of Rabi'ul-
 awwal, Mullā Murshid was appointed to go to Sl. Ibrāhīm who
 through the death of his father Sl. Iskandar had attained to rule
 in Hindūstān some 5 or 6 months earlier(?). I sent him a goshawk
 (*qārchīgha*) and asked for the countries which from of old had
 depended on the Turk. Mullā Murshid was given charge of
 writings (*khāṭṭlār*) for Daulat Khān (*Yūsuf-khān*) and writings
 for Sl. Ibrāhīm; matters were sent also by word-of-mouth; and
 he was given leave to go. Far from sense and wisdom, shut off
 from judgment and counsel must people in Hindūstān be, the
 Afghāns above all; for they could not move and make stand
 like a foe, nor did they know ways and rules of friendliness. Fol. 227.
 Daulat Khān kept my man several days in Lāhūr without seeing
 him himself or speeding him on to Sl. Ibrāhīm; and he came
 back to Kābul a few months later without bringing a reply.

(*n. Birth of Hind-āl.*)

(*March 4th*) On Friday the 2nd of the month, the foot-soldiers
 Shaibak and Darwesh-i-'alī,—he is now a matchlockman,—
 bringing dutiful letters from Kābul, brought news also of
 Hind-āl's birth. As the news came during the expedition into
 Hindūstān, I took it as an omen, and gave the name Hind-āl
 (Taking of Hind). Dutiful letters came also from Muḥammad-
 i-zamān M. in Balkh, by the hand of Qambar Beg.

(*March 5th*) Next morning when the Court rose, we rode out
 for an excursion, entered a boat and there drank '*araq*'.¹ The
 people of the party were Khwāja Dost-khāwand, Khusrāu, Mīrīm,
 Mīrzā Qulī, Muḥammadī, Aḥmadī, Gadāī, Na'man, Langar Khān,
 Rauh-dam,² Qāsim-i-'alī the opium-eater (*ṭariyākī*), Yūsuf-i-'alī
 and Tīngri-qulī. Towards the head of the boat there was a *tālār*³
 on the flat top of which I sat with a few people, a few others
 sitting below. There was a sitting-place also at the tail of the
 boat; there Muḥammadī, Gadāī and Na'man sat. '*Araq* was
 drunk till the Other Prayer when, disgusted by its bad flavour,
 by consent of those at the head of the boat, *ma'jūn* was preferred.

¹ Here this will be the fermented juice of rice or of the date-palm.

² *Rauh* is sometimes the name of a musical note.

³ a platform, with or without a chamber above it, and supported on four posts.

Fol. 227b. Those at the other end, knowing nothing about our *ma'jūn* drank 'araq right through. At the Bed-time Prayer we rode from the boat and got into camp late. Thinking I had been drinking 'araq Muḥammadī and Gadāī had said to one another, "Let's do befitting service," lifted a pitcher of 'araq up to one another in turn on their horses, and came in saying with wonderful joviality and heartiness and speaking together, "Through this dark night have we come carrying this pitcher in turns!" Later on when they knew that the party was (now) meant to be otherwise and the hilarity to differ, that is to say, that [there would be that] of the *ma'jūn* band and that of the drinkers, they were much disturbed because never does a *ma'jūn* party go well with a drinking-party. Said I, "Don't upset the party! Let those who wish to drink 'araq, drink 'araq; let those who wish to eat *ma'jūn*, eat *ma'jūn*. Let no-one on either side make talk or allusion to the other." Some drank 'araq, some ate *ma'jūn*, and for a time the party went on quite politely. Bābā Jān the *qabūz*-player had not been of our party (in the boat); we invited him when we reached the tents. He asked to drink 'araq. We invited Tardī Muḥammad *Qībchāq* also and made him a comrade of the drinkers. A *ma'jūn* party never goes well with an 'araq or a wine-party; the drinkers began to make wild talk and chatter from all sides, mostly in allusion to *ma'jūn* and *ma'jūnīs*. Bābā Jān even, when drunk, said many wild things. The drinkers soon made Tardī Khān mad-drunk, by giving him one full bowl after another. Try as we did to keep things straight, nothing went well; there was much disgusting uproar; the party became intolerable and was broken up.

(*March 7th*) On Monday the 5th of the month, the country of Bhīra was given to Hindū Beg.

(*March 8th*) On Tuesday the Chīn-āb country was bestowed on Ḥusain *Aīkrāk*(?) and leave was given to him and the Chīn-āb people to set out. At this time Sayyid 'Alī Khān's son Minūchihr Khān, having let us know (his intention), came and waited on me. He had started from Hindūstān by the upper road, had met in with Tātār Khān *Kakar*; ¹ Tātār Khān had not let him pass on, but had kept him, made him a son-in-law by giving him his own daughter, and had detained him for some time.

¹ so-written in the MSS. Cf. Raverty's *Notes* and G. of I.

(o. *The Kakars.*)

In amongst the mountains of Nīl-āb and Bhīra which connect with those of Kashmir, there are, besides the Jūd and Janjūha tribes, many Jats, Gujūrs, and others akin to them, seated in villages everywhere on every rising-ground. These are governed by headmen of the Kakar tribes, a headship like that over the Jūd and Janjūha. At this time (925 AH.) the headmen of the people of those hill-skirts were Tātār *Kakar* and Hātī *Kakar*, two descendants of one forefather; being paternal-uncles' sons.¹ Torrent-beds and ravines are their strongholds. Tātār's place, named Parhāla,² is a good deal below the snow-mountains; Hātī's country connects with the mountains and also he had made Bābū Khān's fief Kālanjar,³ look towards himself. Tātār *Kakar* had seen Daulat Khān (*Yūsuf-khail*) and looked to him with complete obedience. Hātī had not seen Daulat Khān; his attitude towards him was bad and turbulent. At the word of the Hindūstān begs and in agreement with them, Tātār had so posted himself as to blockade Hātī from a distance. Just when we were in Bhīra, Hātī moved on pretext of hunting, fell unexpectedly on Tātār, killed him, and took his country, his wives and his having (*būlgānī*).⁴ Fol. 228b.

(p. *Bābur's journey resumed.*)

Having ridden out at the Mid-day Prayer for an excursion, we got on a boat and 'araq was drunk. The people of the party were Dost Beg, Mīrzā Qulī, Aḥmadī, Gadāi, Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*, 'Asas,⁵ and Aūghān-bīrdī *Mughūl*. The musicians were Rauḥ-dam, Bābā Jān, Qāsim-i-'alī, Yūsuf-i-'alī, Tīngī-qulī, Abū'l-qāsim, Rāmzān *Lūlī*. We drank in the boat till the Bed-time Prayer; then getting off it, full of drink, we mounted, took torches in our hands, and went to camp from the river's bank,

¹ Anglicé, cousins on the father's side.

² The G. of I. describes it.

³ Elph. MS. f. 183b, *manṣūb*; Hai. MS. and 2nd W.-i-B. *ḥisūt*. The holder might be Bābā-i-kābulī of f. 225.

⁴ The 1st Pers. trs. (I.O. 215 f. 188b) and Kehr's MS. [Ilminsky p. 293] attribute Hātī's last-recorded acts to Bābur himself. The two mistaken sources err together elsewhere. M. de Courteille corrects the defect (ii, 67).

⁵ night-guard. He is the old servant to whom Bābur sent a giant *ashrafī* of the spoils of India (Gul-badan's H.N. s.n.).

leaning over from our horses on this side, leaning over from that, at one loose-rein gallop! Very drunk I must have been for, when they told me next day that we had galloped loose-rein into camp, carrying torches, I could not recal it in the very least. After reaching my quarters, I vomited a good deal.

(*March 11th*) On Friday we rode out on an excursion, crossed the water (Jehlam) by boat and went about amongst the orchards (*bāghāt*) of blossoming trees and the lands of the sugar-cultivation. We saw the wheel with buckets, had water drawn, and asked Fol. 229. particulars about getting it out; indeed we made them draw it again and again. During this excursion a confection was preferred. In returning we went on board a boat. A confection (*ma'jūn*) was given also to Minūchihr Khān, such a one that, to keep him standing, two people had to give him their arms. For a time the boat remained at anchor in mid-stream; we then went down-stream; after a while had it drawn up-stream again, slept in it that night and went back to camp near dawn.

(*March 12th*) On Saturday the 10th of the first Rabi', the Sun entered the Ram. Today we rode out before mid-day and got into a boat where 'araq was drunk. The people of the party were Khwāja Dost-khāwand, Dost Beg, Mirīm, Mirzā Qulī, Muḥammadi, Aḥmadi, Yūnas-i-'alī, Muḥ. 'Alī *jang-jang*, Gadāi Taghāi, Mīr Khurd (and ?) 'Asas. The musicians were Rauḥ-dam, Bābā Jān, Qāsim, Yūsuf-i-'alī, Tīngri-qulī and Ramzān. We got into a branch-water (*shakh-i-āb*), for some time went down-stream, landed a good deal below Bhīra and on its opposite bank, and went late into camp.

This same day Shāh Ḥasan returned from Khūsh-āb whither he had been sent as envoy to demand the countries which from of old had depended on the Turk; he had settled peaceably with them and had in his hands a part of the money assessed on them.

The heats were near at hand. To reinforce Hindū Beg (in Bhīra) were appointed Shāh Muḥammad Keeper of the Seal and his younger brother Dost Beg Keeper of the Seal, together with several suitable braves; an accepted (*yārāsha*) stipend Fol. 229b. was fixed and settled in accordance with each man's position. Khūsh-āb was bestowed, with a standard, on Langar Khān, the prime cause and mover of this expedition; we settled also that

he was to help Hindū Beg. We appointed also to help Hindū Beg, the Turk and local soldiery of Bhīra, increasing the allowances and pay of both. Amongst them was the afore-named Minūchihr Khān whose name has been mentioned; there was also Nazar-i-‘alī *Turk*, one of Minūchihr Khān’s relations; there were also Sangar Khān *Janjūha* and Malik Hast *Janjūha*.

(*pp. Return for Kābul.*)

(*March 13th*) Having settled the country in every way making for hope of peace, we marched for Kābul from Bhīra on Sunday the 11th of the first Rabi‘. We dismounted in Kaldah-kahār. That day too it rained amazingly; people with rain-cloaks¹ were in the same case as those who had none! The rear of the camp kept coming in till the Bed-time Prayer.

(*q. Action taken against Hātī Kakar.*)

(*March 14th*) People acquainted with the honour and glory (*āb u tāb*) of this land and government, especially the Janjūhas, old foes of these Kakars, represented, “Hātī is the bad man round-about; he it is robs on the roads; he it is brings men to ruin; he ought either to be driven out from these parts, or to be severely punished.” Agreeing with this, we left Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān and Nāṣir’s Mīrīm next day with the camp, parting from them at big breakfast,² and moved on Hātī *Kakar*. As has been said, he had killed Tātār a few days earlier, and having taken possession of Parhāla, was in it now. Dismounting at the Other Prayer, we gave the horses corn; at the Bed-time Prayer we rode on again, our guide being a Gujūr servant of Malik Hast, named Sar-u-pā. We rode the night through and dismounted at dawn, when Beg Muḥammad *Mughūl* was sent back to the

Fol. 230.

¹ The *kīping* or *kīpik* is a kind of mantle covered with wool (Erskine); the root of the word is *kīp*, dry.

² *āulūgh chāshī*, a term suggesting that Bābur knew the *chota ḥāzīrī*, little breakfast, of Anglo-India. It may be inferred, from several passages, that the big breakfast was taken after 9 a.m. and before 12 p.m. Just below men are said to put on their mail at *chāshī* in the same way as, *passim*, things other than prayer are said to be done at this or that Prayer; this, I think, always implies that they are done after the Prayer mentioned; a thing done shortly before a Prayer is done “close to” or “near” or when done over half-way to the following Prayer, the act is said to be done “nearer” to the second (as was noted on f. 221).

camp, and we remounted when it was growing light. At break-fast-time (9 a.m.) we put our mail on and moved forward faster. The blackness of Parhāla shewed itself from 2 miles off; the gallop was then allowed (*chāpquṇ qūṭūldī*); the right went east of Parhāla, Qūj Beg, who was also of the right, following as its reserve; the men of the left and centre went straight for the fort, Dost Beg being their rear-reserve.

Parhāla stands amongst ravines. It has two roads; one, by which we came, leads to it from the south-east, goes along the top of ravines and on either hand has hollows worn out by the torrents. A mile from Parhāla this road, in four or five places before it reaches the Gate, becomes a one-man road with a ravine falling from its either side; there for more than an arrow's flight men must ride in single file. The other road comes from the north-west; it gets up to Parhāla by the trough of a valley and it also is a one-man road. There is no other road on any side. Parhāla though without breast-work or battlement, has no assailable place, its sides shooting perpendicularly down for 7, 8, 10 yards.

Fol. 230b.

When the van of our left, having passed the narrow place, went in a body to the Gate, Hātī, with whom were 30 to 40 men in armour, their horses in mail, and a mass of foot-soldiers, forced his assailants to retire. Dost Beg led his reserve forward, made a strong attack, dismounted a number of Hātī's men, and beat him. All the country-round, Hātī was celebrated for his daring, but try as he did, he could effect nothing; he took to flight; he could not make a stand in those narrow places; he could not make the fort fast when he got back into it. His assailants went in just behind him and ran on through the ravine and narrows of the north-west side of the fort, but he rode light and made his flight good. Here again, Dost Beg did very well and recompense was added to renown.¹

Meantime I had gone into the fort and dismounted at Tātār *Kakar's* dwelling. Several men had joined in the attack for whom to stay with me had been arranged; amongst them were Amīn-i-muḥammad Tarkhān *Arghūn* and Qarācha.² For this

¹ *Juldū Dost Beg-nīng ātī-gha būldī.*

² The disarray of these names in the MSS. reveals confusion in their source. Similar verbal disarray occurs in the latter part of f. 229.

fault they were sent to meet the camp, without *sar-u-pā*, into the wilds and open country with *Sar-u-pā* ¹ for their guide, the Gujūr mentioned already.

(*March 16th*) Next day we went out by the north-west ravine and dismounted in a sown field. A few serviceable braves under Wālī the treasurer were sent out to meet the camp.²

(*March 17th*) Marching on Thursday the 15th, we dismounted at Andarāba on the Sūhān, a fort said to have depended from of old on ancestors of Malik Hast. Hātī *Kakar* had killed Malik Hast's father and destroyed the fort; there it now lay in ruins. Fol. 231.

At the Bed-time Prayer of this same day, those left at Kalda-kahār with the camp rejoined us.

(*r. Submissions to Bābur.*)

It must have been after Hātī overcame Tātār that he started his kinsman Parbat to me with tribute and an accoutred horse. Parbat did not light upon us but, meeting in with the camp we had left behind, came on in the company of the train. With it came also Langar Khān up from Bhīra on matters of business. His affairs were put right and he, together with several local people, was allowed to leave.

(*March 18th*) Marching on and crossing the Sūhān-water, we dismounted on the rising-ground. Here Hātī's kinsman (Parbat) was robed in an honorary dress (*khl'at*), given letters of encouragement for Hātī, and despatched with a servant of Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang*. Nīl-āb and the Qār'lūq (Himalayan?) Hazāra had been given to Humāyūn (*aet.* 12); some of his servants under Bābā Dost and Halāhil came now for their darogha-ship.³

(*March 19th*) Marching early next morning, we dismounted after riding 2 miles, went to view the camp from a height and ordered that the camp-camels should be counted; it came out at 570.

Fol. 231b.

¹ Manifestly a pun is made on the guide's name and on the *cap-à-pie* robe of honour the offenders did not receive.

² *āwūd-nīng aldī-gha*, a novel phrase.

³ I understand that the servants had come to do their equivalent for "kissing hands" on an appointment *viz.* to kneel.

We had heard of the qualities of the sambhal plant¹; we saw it on this ground; along this hill-skirt it grows sparsely, a plant here, a plant there; it grows abundantly and to a large size further along the skirt-hills of Hindūstān. It will be described when an account is given of the animals and plants of Hindūstān.²

(*March 20th*) Marching from that camp at beat of drum (*i.e.* one hour before day), we dismounted at breakfast-time (9 a.m.) below the Sangdakī-pass, at mid-day marched on, crossed the pass, crossed the torrent, and dismounted on the rising-ground.

(*March 21st*) Marching thence at midnight, we made an excursion to the ford³ we had crossed when on our way to Bhīra. A great raft of grain had stuck in the mud of that same ford and, do what its owners would, could not be made to move. The corn was seized and shared out to those with us. Timely indeed was that corn!

Near noon we were a little below the meeting of the waters of Kābul and Sind, rather above old Nīl-āb; we dismounted there between two waters.⁴ From Nīl-āb six boats were brought, and were apportioned to the right, left and centre, who busied themselves energetically in crossing the river (Indus). We got there on a Monday; they kept on crossing the water through the night preceding Tuesday (*March 22nd*), through Tuesday and up to Wednesday (*March 23rd*) and on Thursday (*24th*) also a few crossed.

Fol. 232. Hātī's kinsman Parbat, he who from Andarāba was sent to Hātī with a servant of Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang*, came to the bank of the river with Hātī's offering of an accoutred horse. Nīl-ābīs also came, brought an accoutred horse and did obeisance.

(*s. Various postings.*)

Muḥammad 'Alī *Jang-jang* had wished to stay in Bhīra but Bhīra being bestowed on Hindū Beg, he was given the countries

¹ spikenard. Speede's *Indian Hand-book on Gardening* identifies *sambhal* with *Valeriana jatmansi* (Sir W. Jones & Roxburgh); "it is the real spikenard of the ancients, highly esteemed alike as a perfume and as a stimulant medicine; native practitioners esteeming it valuable in hysteria and epilepsy." Bābur's word *dirakht* is somewhat large for the plant.

² It is not given, however.

³ *i.e.* through the Indus.

⁴ Perhaps this *āki-sū-ārāsī* (*miyān-dū-āb*) was the angle made by the Indus itself below Atak; perhaps one made by the Indus and an affluent.

between it and the Sind-river, such as the Qārīlūq Hazāra, Hātī, Ghiyāṣ-wāl and Kīb (Kitib):—

Where one is who submits like a *ra'īyat*, so treat him ;
But him who submits not, strike, strip, crush and force to obey.

He also received a special head-wear in black velvet, a special Qīlmāq corselet, and a standard. When Hātī's kinsman was given leave to go he took for Hātī a sword and head-to-foot (*bāsh-ayāq*) with a royal letter of encouragement.

(*March 24th*) On Thursday at sunrise we marched from the river's bank. That day confection was eaten. While under its influence¹ wonderful fields of flowers were enjoyed. In some places sheets of yellow flowers bloomed in plots; in others sheets of red (*arghwānī*) flowers in plots, in some red and yellow bloomed together. We sat on a mound near the camp to enjoy the sight. There were flowers on all sides of the mound, yellow here, red there, as if arranged regularly to form a sextuple. On two sides there were fewer flowers but as far as the eye reached, flowers were in bloom. In spring near Parashāwar the fields of flowers are very beautiful indeed. Fol. 232b.

(*March 25th*) We marched from that ground at dawn. At one place on the road a tiger came out and roared. On hearing it, the horses, willy-nilly, flung off in terror, carrying their riders in all directions, and dashing into ravines and hollows. The tiger went again into the jungle. To bring it out, we ordered a buffalo brought and put on the edge of the jungle. The tiger again came out roaring. Arrows were shot at it from all sides²; I shot with the rest. Khalwī (var. Khalwā) a foot-soldier, pricked it with a spear; it bit the spear and broke off the spear-head. After tasting of those arrows, it went into the bushes (*būta*) and stayed there. Bābā the waiting-man [*yasāwāl*] went with drawn sword close up to it; it sprang; he chopped at its head; 'Alī *Sīstānī*³ chopped at its loins; it plunged into the river and was killed right in the water. It was got out and ordered to be skinned.

¹ *ma'jūnī nākhikī*, presumably under the tranquillity induced by the drug.

² *massadus*, the six sides of the world, *i.e.* all sides.

³ This is the name of one of the five champions defeated by Bābur in single combat in 914 AH. (Translator's Note *s.a.* 914 AH.).

Fol. 233.

(*March 26th*) Marching on next day, we reached Bīgrām and went to see Gūr-khatrī. This is a smallish abode, after the fashion of a hermitage (*ṣauma'at*), rather confined and dark. After entering at the door and going down a few steps, one must lie full length to get beyond. There is no getting in without a lamp. All round near the building there is let lie an enormous quantity of hair of the head and beard which men have shaved off there. There are a great many retreats (*hujra*) near Gūr-khatrī like those of a rest-house or a college. In the year we came into Kābul (910 AH.) and over-ran Kohāt, Bannū and the plain, we made an excursion to Bīgrām, saw its great tree and were consumed with regret at not seeing Gūr-khatrī, but it does not seem a place to regret not-seeing.¹

On this same day an excellent hawk of mine went astray out of Shaikhīm the head-falconer's charge; it had taken many cranes and storks and had moulted (*tūlāb*) two or three times. So many things did it take that it made a fowler of a person so little keen as I!

At this place were bestowed 100 miṣqāls of silver, clothing (*tūnlūq*), three bullocks and one buffalo, out of the offerings of Hindūstān, on each of six persons, the chiefs of the Dilazāk Afghāns under Malik Bū Khān and Malik Mūsa; to others, in their degree, were given money, pieces of cloth, a bullock and a buffalo.

(*March 27th*) When we dismounted at 'Alī-masjid, a Dilazāk Afghān of the Yaq'ūb-khail, named Ma'rūf, brought an offering of 10 sheep, two ass-loads of rice and eight large cheeses.

(*March 28th*) Marching on from 'Alī-masjid, we dismounted at Yada-bīr; from Yada-bīr Jūī-shāhī was reached by the Mid-day Prayer and we there dismounted. Today Dost Beg was attacked by burning fever.

(*March 29th*) Marching from Jūī-shāhī at dawn, we ate our mid-day meal in the Bāgh-i-wafā. At the Mid-day Prayer we betook ourselves out of the garden, close to the Evening Prayer forded the Siyāh-āb at Gandamak, satisfied our horses' hunger in a field of green corn, and rode on in a *garī* or two (24-48 min.).

¹ f. 145b.

After crossing the Sūrkh-āb, we dismounted at Kark and took a sleep. Fol. 233b.

(*March 30th*) Riding before shoot of day from Kark, I went with 5 or 6 others by the road taking off for Qarā-tū in order to enjoy the sight of a garden there made. Khalīfa and Shāh Ḥasan Beg and the rest went by the other road to await me at Qūrūq-sāi.

When we reached Qarā-tū, Shāh Beg *Arghūn's* commissary (*tawāchī*) Qizil (Rufus) brought word that Shāh Beg had taken Kāhān, plundered it and retired.

An order had been given that no-one soever should take news of us ahead. We reached Kābul at the Mid-day Prayer, no person in it knowing about us till we got to Qūtlūq-qadam's bridge. As Humāyūn and Kāmran heard about us only after that, there was not time to put them on horseback; they made their pages carry them, came, and did obeisance between the gates of the town and the citadel.¹ At the Other Prayer there waited on me Qāsim Beg, the town Qāzī, the retainers left in Kābul and the notables of the place.

(*April 2nd*) At the Other Prayer of Friday the 1st of the second Rabi' there was a wine-party at which a special head-to-foot (*bāsh-ayāq*) was bestowed on Shāh Ḥasan.

(*April 3rd*) At dawn on Saturday we went on board a boat and took our morning.² Nūr Beg, then not obedient (*tā'ib*), played the lute at this gathering. At the Mid-day Prayer we left the boat to visit the garden made between Kul-kīna³ and the mountain (Shāh-i-kābul). At the Evening Prayer we went to the Violet-garden where there was drinking again. From Kul-kīna I got in by the rampart and went into the citadel.

(*u. Dost Beg's death.*)

(*April 6th*) On the night of Tuesday the 5th of the month,⁴ Dost Beg, who on the road had had fever, went to God's mercy. Fol. 234.

¹ Humāyūn was 12, Kāmran younger; one surmises that Bābur would have walked under the same circumstances.

² *ṣabuḥī*, the morning-draught. In 1623 AD. Pietro della Vallé took a *ṣabuḥī* with Mr. Thomas Rastel, the head of the merchants of Surat, which was of hot spiced wine and sipped in the mornings to comfort the stomach (Hakluyt ed. p. 20).

³ f. 128 and note.

⁴ Anglicé, in the night preceding Tuesday.

Sad and grieved enough we were! His bier and corpse were carried to Ghaznī where they laid him in front of the gate of the Sulṭān's garden (*rausa*).

Dost Beg had been a very good brave (*yīkīt*) and he was still rising in rank as a beg. Before he was made a beg, he did excellent things several times as one of the household. One time was at Rabāt-i-zauraq,¹ one *yīghāch* from Andijān when Sl. Aḥmad *Taṃbal* attacked me at night (908 AH.). I, with 10 to 15 men, by making a stand, had forced his gallopers back; when we reached his centre, he made a stand with as many as 100 men; there were then three men with me, *i.e.* there were four counting myself. Nāsir's Dost (*i.e.* Dost Beg) was one of the three; another was Mīrzā Qulī *Kūkūldāsh*; Karīm-dād *Turkmān* was the other. I was just in my *jība*²; Taṃbal and another were standing like gate-wards in front of his array; I came face to face with Taṃbal, shot an arrow striking his helm; shot another aiming at the attachment of his shield;³ they shot one through my leg (*būtūm*); Taṃbal chopped at my head. It was wonderful! The (under)-cap of my helm was on my head; not a thread of it was cut, but on the head itself was a very bad wound. Of other help came none; no-one was left with me; of necessity I brought myself to gallop back. Dost Beg had been a little in my rear; (Taṃbal) on leaving me alone, chopped at him.⁴

Fol. 234b. Again, when we were getting out of Akhsī [908 AH.],⁵ Dost Beg chopped away at Bāqī *Ḥīz*⁶ who, although people called him *Ḥīz*, was a mighty master of the sword. Dost Beg was one of the eight left with me after we were out of Akhsī; he was the third they unhorsed.

Again, after he had become a beg, when Sīūnjuk Khān (*Aūzbeḡ*), arriving with the (*Aūzbeḡ*) sulṭāns before Tāshkīnt, besieged Aḥmad-i-qāsim [*Kohbur*] in it [918 AH.],⁷ Dost Beg

¹ f. 106b.

² This would be the under-corselet to which the four plates of mail were attached when mail was worn. Bābur in this adventure wore no mail, not even his helm; on his head was the under cap of the metal helm.

³ Index s.n. *gharicha*.

⁴ The earlier account helps to make this one clearer (f. 106b).

⁵ f. 112 *et seq.*

⁶ Catamite, mistakenly read as *khīz* on f. 112b (*Mémoires* ii, 82).

⁷ He was acting for Bābur (Translator's Note s.a.; Ț.S. iii, 318; T.R. pp. 260, 270).

passed through them and entered the town. During the siege he risked his honoured life splendidly, but Aḥmad-i-qāsim, without a word to this honoured man,¹ flung out of the town and got away. Dost Beg for his own part got the better of the Khān and sulṭāns and made his way well out of Tāshkint.

Later on when Sherīm Ṭaghāī, Mazīd and their adherents were in rebellion,² he came swiftly up from Ghaznī with two or three hundred men, met three or four hundred effective braves sent out by those same Mughūls to meet him, unhorsed a mass of them near Sherūkān (?), cut off and brought in a number of heads.

Again, his men were first over the ramparts at the fort of Bajaur (925 AH.). At Parhāla, again, he advanced, beat Hātī, put him to flight, and won Parhāla.

After Dost Beg's death, I bestowed his district on his younger brother Nāsir's Mīrīm.³

(v. *Various incidents.*)

(*April 9th*) On Friday the 8th of the second Rabī', the walled-town was left for the Chār-bāgh.

(*April 13th*) On Tuesday the 12th there arrived in Kābul the honoured Sulṭānīm Begīm, Sl. Ḥusain Mīrzā's eldest daughter, the mother of Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā. During those throneless times,⁴ she had settled down in Khwārizm where Yīlī-pārs Fol. 235. Sulṭān's younger brother Aīsān-qulī Sl. took her daughter. The Bāgh-i-khilwat was assigned her for her seat. When she had settled down and I went to see her in that garden, out of respect and courtesy to her, she being as my honoured elder sister, I bent the knee. She also bent the knee. We both advancing, saw one another mid-way. We always observed the same ceremony afterwards.

(*April 18th*) On Sunday the 17th, that traitor to his salt, Bābā Shaikh⁵ was released from his long imprisonment, forgiven his offences and given an honorary dress.

¹ "Honoured," in this sentence, represents Bābur's honorific plural.

² in 921 AH. (Translator's Note s.a.; T.R. p. 356).

³ i.e. Mīr Muḥammad son of Nāsir.

⁴ i.e. after the dethronement of the Bāī-qarā family by Shaibānī.

⁵ He had been one of rebels of 921 AH. (Translator's Note s.a.; T.R. p. 356).

(w. *Visit to the Koh-dāman.*)

(*April 20th*) On Tuesday the 19th of the month, we rode out at the return of noon for Khwāja Sih-yārān. This day I was fasting. All astonished, Yūnas-i-‘alī and the rest said, “A Tuesday! a journey! and a fast! This is amazing!” At Bih-zādī we dismounted at the Qāzī’s house. In the evening when a stir was made for a social gathering, the Qāzī set this before me, “In my house such things never are; it is for the honoured Pādshāh to command!” For his heart’s content, drink was left out, though all the material for a party was ready.

(*April 21st*) On Wednesday we went to Khwāja Sih-yārān.

(*April 22nd*) On Thursday the 22nd of the month, we had a large round seat made in the garden under construction on the mountain-naze.¹

(*April 23rd*) On Friday we got on a raft from the bridge. On our coming opposite the fowlers’ houses, they brought a *dang* (or *dīng*)² they had caught. I had never seen one before; it is an odd-looking bird. It will come into the account of the birds of Hindustan.³

(*April 24th*) On Saturday the 23rd of the month cuttings were planted, partly of plane, partly of *tāl*,⁴ above the round seat. At the Mid-day Prayer there was a wine-party at the place.

(*April 25th*) At dawn we took our morning on the new seat. At noon we mounted and started for Kābul, reached Khwāja Ḥasan quite drunk and slept awhile, rode on and by midnight got to the Chār-bāgh. At Khwāja Ḥasan, ‘Abdu’l-lāh, in his drunkenness, threw himself into water just as he was in his *tūn aūfrāghī*.⁵ He was frozen with cold and could not go on with us when we mounted after a little of the night had passed. He stayed on Qūtlūq Khwāja’s estate that night. Next day, awakened to his past intemperance, he came on repentant. Said I, “At once! will this sort of repentance answer or not? Would to God you would repent now at once in such a way that you

¹ f. 137.

² This is the Adjutant-bird, Pir-i-dang and Hargila (Bone-swallower) of Hindūstān, a migrant through Kābul. The fowlers who brought it would be the Multānis of f. 142b.

³ f. 280.

⁴ *Mémoires*, p. 267, sycamore; *Mémoires* ii, 84, saules; f. 137.

⁵ Perhaps with his long coat out-spread.

would drink nowhere except at my parties!" He agreed to this and kept the rule for a few months, but could not keep it longer.

(*x. Hindū Beg abandons Bhīra.*)

(*April 26th*) On Monday the 25th came Hindū Beg. There having been hope of peace, he had been left in those countries with somewhat scant support. No sooner was our back turned than a mass of Hindūstānīs and Afghāns gathered, disregarded us and, not listening to our words, moved against Hindū Beg in Bhīra. The local peoples also went over to the Afghāns. Hindū Beg could make no stand in Bhīra, came to Khūsh-āb, came through the Dīn-kot country, came to Nīl-āb, came on to Kābul. Fol. 236. Sīktū's son Dīwa *Hindū* and another Hindū had been brought prisoner from Bhīra. Each now giving a considerable ransom, they were released. Horses and head-to-foot dresses having been given them, leave to go was granted.

(*April 30th*) On Friday the 29th of the month, burning fever appeared in my body. I got myself let blood. I had fever with sometimes two, sometimes three days between the attacks. In no attack did it cease till there had been sweat after sweat. After 10 or 12 days of illness, Mullā Khwāja gave me narcissus mixed with wine; I drank it once or twice; even that did no good.

(*May 15th*) On Sunday the 15th of the first Jumāda ¹ Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī came from Khwāst, bringing a saddled horse as an offering and also *taṣadduq* money.² Muḥ. Sharif the astrologer and the Mīr-zādas of Khwāst came with him and waited on me.

(*May 16th*) Next day, Monday, Mullā Kabīr came from Kāshghar; he had gone round by Kāshghar on his way from Andijān to Kābul.

(*May 23rd*) On Monday the 23rd of the month, Malik Shāh Maṇṣūr *Yūsuf-zāi* arrived from Sawād with 6 or 7 Yūsuf-zāi chiefs, and did obeisance.

¹ The fortnight's gap of record, here ended, will be due to illness.

² f. 203b and n. to *Khams*, the Fifth. *Taṣadduq* occurs also on f. 238 denoting money sent to Bābur. Was it sent to him as Pādshāh, as the Qorān commands the *Khams* to be sent to the Imām, for the poor, the traveller and the orphan?

Fol. 236b.

(*May 31st*) On Monday the 1st of the second Jumāda, the chiefs of the Yūsuf-zāi Afghāns led by Malik Shāh Manṣūr were dressed in robes of honour (*khiḷ'at*). To Malik Shāh Manṣūr was given a long silk coat and an under-coat (? *jz̄ba*) with its buttons; to one of the other chiefs was given a coat with silk sleeves, and to six others silk coats. To all leave to go was granted. Agreement was made with them that they were not to reckon as in the country of Sawād what was above Abuha (?), that they should make all the peasants belonging to it go out from amongst themselves, and also that the Afghān cultivators of Bajaur and Sawād should cast into the revenue 6000 ass-loads of rice.

(*June 2nd*) On Wednesday the 3rd, I drank *jul-āb*.¹

(*June 5th*) On Saturday the 6th, I drank a working-draught (*dārū-i-kār*).

(*June 7th*) On Monday the 8th, arrived the wedding-gift for the marriage of Qāsim Beg's youngest son Ḥamza with Khalīfa's eldest daughter. It was of 1000 *shāhrukhī*; they offered also a saddled horse.

(*June 8th*) On Tuesday Shāh Beg's Shāh Ḥasan asked for permission to go away for a wine-party. He carried off to his house Khwāja Muḥ. 'Alī and some of the household-begs. In my presence were Yūnas-i-'alī and Gadāi Ṭaghāi. I was still abstaining from wine. Said I, "Not at all in this way is it (*hech andāq būlmāi dūr*) that I will sit sober and the party drink wine, I stay sane, full of water, and that set (*būlāk*) of people get drunk; come you and drink in my presence! I will amuse myself a little by watching what intercourse between the sober and the drunk is like."² The party was held in a smallish tent in which I sometimes sat, in the Plane-tree garden south-east of the Picture-hall. Later on Ghiyās the house-buffoon (*kidī*) arrived; several times for fun he was ordered kept out, but at last he made a great disturbance and his buffooneries found him a way in. We invited Tardī Muḥammad *Qibchāq* also and

¹ Rose-water, sherbet, a purgative; English, jalap, julep.

² Mr. Erskine understood Bābur to say that he never had sat sober while others drank; but this does not agree with the account of Harāt entertainments [912 A.H.], or with the tenses of the passage here. My impression is that he said in effect "Every-one here shall not be deprived of their wine".

Mullā *kitāb-dār* (librarian). The following quatrain, written impromptu, was sent to Shāh Ḥasan and those gathered in his house :—

Fol. 237.

In your beautiful flower-bed of banquetting friends,
Our fashion it is not to be ;
If there be ease (*ḥuzūr*) in that gathering of yours,
Thank God ! there is here no un-ease [*bī ḥuzūr*].¹

It was sent by Ibrāhīm *chuhra*. Between the two Prayers (*i.e.* afternoon) the party broke up drunk.

I used to go about in a litter while I was ill. The wine-mixture was drunk on several of the earlier days, then, as it did no good I left it off, but I drank it again at the end of my convalescence, at a party had under an apple-tree on the south-west side of the Tālār-garden.

(*June 11th*) On Friday the 12th came Aḥmad Beg and Sī. Muḥammad *Dūldāī* who had been left to help in Bajaur.

(*June 16th*) On Wednesday the 17th of the month, Tīngri-bīrdī and other braves gave a party in Iḥaidar *Tāqī's* garden ; I also went and there drank. We rose from it at the Bed-time Prayer when a move was made to the great tent where again there was drinking.

(*June 23rd*) On Thursday the 25th of the month, Mullā Maḥmūd was appointed to read extracts from the Qorān² in my presence.

(*June 28th*) On Tuesday the last day of the month, Abū'l-muslim Kūkūldāsh arrived as envoy from Shāh Shujā' *Arghūn* bringing a *tīpūchāq*. After bargain made about swimming the reservoir in the Plane-tree garden, Yūsuf-i-'alī the stirrup-holder swam round it today 100 times and received a gift of a head-to-foot (dress), a saddled horse and some money.

(*July 6th*) On Wednesday the 8th of Rajab, I went to Shāh Ḥasan's house and drank there ; most of the household and of the begs were present. Fol. 237b.

(*July 9th*) On Saturday the 11th, there was drinking on the terrace-roof of the pigeon-house between the Afternoon and Evening Prayers. Rather late a few horsemen were observed,

¹ This verse, a difficult one to translate, may refer to the unease removed from his attendants by Bābur's permission to drink ; the pun in it might also refer to *well* and *not well*.

² Presumably to aid his recovery.

going from Dih-i-afghān towards the town. It was made out to be Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān*, on his way to me as the envoy of Mīrzā Khān (Wais). We shouted to him from the roof, "Drop the envoy's forms and ceremonies! Come! come without formality!" He came and sat down in the company. He was then obedient and did not drink. Drinking went on till the end of the evening. Next day he came into the Court Session with due form and ceremony, and presented Mīrzā Khān's gifts.

(*y. Various incidents.*)

Last year¹ with 100 efforts, much promise and threats, we had got the clans to march into Kābul from the other side (of Hindū-kush). Kābul is a confined country, not easily giving summer and winter quarters to the various flocks and herds of the Turks and (Mughūl?) clans. If the dwellers in the wilds follow their own hearts, they do not wish for Kābul! They now waited (*khidmat qīlīb*) on Qāsim Beg and made him their mediator with me for permission to re-cross to that other side. He tried very hard, so in the end, they were allowed to cross over to the Qūndūz and Bāghlān side.

Hāfiz the news-writer's elder brother had come from Samar-kand; when I now gave him leave to return, I sent my *Dīwān* by him to Pūlād Sulṭān.² On the back of it I wrote the following

Fol. 238.

verse :—

O breeze! if thou enter that cypress' chamber (*ḥarīm*)
Remind her of me, my heart reft by absence;
She yearns not for Bābur; he fosters a hope
That her heart of steel God one day may melt.³

(*July 15th*) On Friday the 17th of the month, Shaikh Mazīd Kūkūldāsh waited on me from Muḥammad-i-zamān Mīrzā, bringing *taṣadduq* tribute and a horse.⁴ Today Shāh Beg's envoy Abū'l-muslim Kūkūldāsh was robed in an honorary dress

¹ *aūtkān yīl*, perhaps in the last and unchronicled year; perhaps in earlier ones. There are several references in the B.N. to the enforced migrations and emigrations of tribes into Kābul.

² Pūlād (Steel) was a son of Kūchūm, the then Khāqān of the Aūzbegs, and Mihr-bānū who may be Bābur's half-sister. [Index s.n.]

³ This may be written for Mihr-bānū, Pūlād's mother and Bābur's half-sister (?) and a jest made on her heart as Pūlād's and as steel to her brother. She had not left husband and son when Bābur got the upper hand, as his half-sister Yādgār-sulṭān did and other wives of capture e.g. Ḥaidar's sister *Ḥabība*. Bābur's rhymes in this verse are not of his later standard, *āi ṣubāḥ, kūnkūlūkā, kūnkūl-kā*.

⁴ *Taṣadduq* sent to Bābur would seem an acknowledgment of his suzerainty in Balkh [Index s.n.].

and given leave to go. Today also leave was given for their own districts of Khwāst and Andar-āb to Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī and Tīngri-birdi.

(*July 21st*) On Thursday the 23rd came Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang* who had been left in charge of the countries near Kacha-kot and the Qārlūq. With him came one of Hāti's people and Mirzā-i-malū-i-qārlūq's son Shāh Ḥasan. Today Mullā 'Alī-jān waited on me, returned from fetching his wife from Samarkand.

(*s. The 'Abdu'r-raḥman Afghāns and Rustam-maidān.*)

(*July 27th*) The 'Abdu'r-raḥman Afghāns on the Gīrdīz border were satisfactory neither in their tribute nor their behaviour; they were hurtful also to the caravans which came and went. On Wednesday the 29th of Rajab we rode out to over-run them. We dismounted and ate food near Tang-i-waghchān,¹ and rode on again at the Mid-day Prayer. In the night we lost the road and got much bewildered in the ups and downs of the land to the south-east of Pātakḥ-i-āb-i-shakna.² After a time we lit on a road and by it crossed the Chashma-i-tūra³ pass. Fol. 238b.

(*July 28th*) At the first prayer (*farg-waqt*) we got out from the valley-bottom adjacent⁴ to the level land, and the raid was allowed. One detachment galloped towards the Kar-māsh⁵ mountain, south-east of Gīrdīz, the left-hand of the centre led by Khusrau, Mirzā Qulī and Sayyid 'Alī in their rear. Most of the army galloped up the dale to the east of Gīrdīz, having in their rear men under Sayyid Qāsim Lord of the Gate, Mīr Shāh Qūchīn, Qayyām (Aūrdū-shāh Beg?), Hindū Beg, Qūtlūq-qadam and Ḥusain [Ḥasan?]. Most of the army having gone up the dale, I followed at some distance. The dalesmen must have been a good way up; those who went after them wore their horses out and nothing to make up for this fell into their hands.

Some Afghāns on foot, some 40 or 50 of them, having appeared on the plain, the rear-reserve went towards them. A courier was sent to me and I hastened on at once. Before I got up

¹ This is the Gīrdīz-pass [Raverty's *Notes*, Route 101].

² Raverty (p. 677) suggests that Pātakḥ stands for *bātqāq*, a quagmire (f. 16 and n.).

³ the dark, or cloudy spring.

⁴ *yāqīsh-hiq qūl*, an unusual phrase.

⁵ var. Karmān, Kurmāh, Karmās. M. de C. read Kīr-mās, the impenetrable. The forms would give Garm-ās, hot embers.

Fol. 239.

with them, Ḥusain Ḥāsan, all alone, foolishly and thoughtlessly, put his horse at those Afghāns, got in amongst them and began to lay on with his sword. They shot his horse, thus made him fall, slashed at him as he was getting up, flung him down, knifed him from all sides and cut him to pieces, while the other braves looked on, standing still and reaching him no helping hand! On hearing news of it, I hurried still faster forward, and sent some of the household and braves galloping loose-rein ahead under Gadāi Ṭaghāi, Payānda-i-muḥammad *Qiplān*, Abū'l-ḥasan the armourer and Mūmin Ātāka. Mūmin Ātāka was the first of them to bring an Afghān down; he speared one, cut off his head and brought it in. Abū'l-ḥasan the armourer, without mail as he was, went admirably forward, stopped in front of the Afghāns, laid his horse at them, chopped at one, got him down, cut off and brought in his head. Known though both were for bravelike deeds done earlier, their action in this affair added to their fame. Every one of those 40 or 50 Afghāns, falling to the arrow, falling to the sword, was cut in pieces. After making a clean sweep of them, we dismounted in a field of growing corn and ordered a tower of their heads to be set up. As we went along the road I said, with anger and scorn, to the begs who had been with Ḥusain, "You! what men! there you stood on quite flat ground, and looked on while a few Afghāns on foot overcame such a brave in the way they did! Your rank and station must be taken from you; you must lose *ḥargana* and country; your beards must be shaved off and you must be exhibited in towns; for there shall be punishment assuredly for him who looks on while such a brave is beaten by such a foe on dead-level land, and reaches out no hand to help!" The troop which went to Kar-māsh brought back sheep and other spoil. One of them was Bābā Qashqa^{*} *Mughūl*; an Afghān had made at him with a sword; he had stood still to adjust an arrow, shot it off and brought his man down.

Fol. 239b.

(*July 29th*) Next day at dawn we marched for Kābul. Paymaster Muḥammad, 'Abdu'l-'azīz Master of the Horse, and Mīr Khūrd the taster were ordered to stop at Chashma-tūra, and get pheasants from the people there.

^{*} *balaféré*; marked on the face; of a horse, starred.

As I had never been along the Rustam-maidān road,¹ I went with a few men to see it. Rustam-plain (*maidān*) lies amongst mountains and towards their head is not a very charming place. The dale spreads rather broad between its two ranges. To the south, on the skirt of the rising-ground is a smallish spring, having very large poplars near it. There are many trees also, but not so large, at the source on the way out of Rustam-maidān for Girdiz. This is a narrower dale, but still there is a plot of green meadow below the smaller trees mentioned, and the little dale is charming. From the summit of the range, looking south, the Karmāsh and Bangash mountains are seen at one's feet; and beyond the Karmāsh show pile upon pile of the rain-clouds of Hindūstān. Towards those other lands where no rain falls, not a cloud is seen. Fol. 240.

We reached Hūnī at the Mid-day Prayer and there dismounted.

(*July 30th*) Dismounting next day at Muḥammad Āghā's village,² we perpetrated (*irtqāb*) a *ma'jūn*. There we had a drug thrown into water for the fish; a few were taken.³

(*July 31st*) On Sunday the 3rd of Sha'bān, we reached Kābul.

(*August 2nd*) On Tuesday the 5th of the month, Darwish-i-muḥammad *Faḡlī* and Khusrau's servants were summoned and, after enquiry made into what short-comings of theirs there may have been when Husain was overcome, they were deprived of place and rank. At the Mid-day Prayer there was a wine-party under a plane-tree, at which an honorary dress was given to Bābā Qashqa *Mughūl*.

(*August 5th*) On Friday the 8th Kipa returned from the presence of Mīrzā Khān.

(*aa. Excursion to the Koh-dāman.*)

(*August 11th*) On Thursday at the Other Prayer, I mounted for an excursion to the Koh-dāman, Bārān and Khwāja Sih-yārān.⁴ At the Bed-time Prayer, we dismounted at Māmā Khātūn.⁵

¹ Raverty's *Notes* (p. 457) give a full account of this valley; in it are the head-waters of the Tochī and the Zurmūt stream; and in it R. locates Rustam's ancient Zābul.

² It is on the Kābul side of the Girdiz-pass and stands on the Luhugūr-water (Logar).

³ f. 143.

⁴ At this point of the text there occurs in the Elph. MS. (f. 195b) a note, manifestly copied from one marginal in an archetype, which states that what follows is copied from Bābur's own MS. The note (and others) can be seen in JRAS 1905 p. 754 *et seq.*

⁵ Masson, iii, 145.

(*August 12th*) Next day we dismounted at Istālīf ; a confection was eaten on that day.

(*August 13th*) On Saturday there was a wine-party at Istālīf.

(*August 14th*) Riding at dawn from Istālīf, we crossed the space between it and the Sinjid-valley. Near Khwāja Sih-yārān a great snake was killed as thick, it may be, as the fore-arm and as long as a *qūlāch*.¹ From its inside came out a slenderer snake, that seemed to have been just swallowed, every part of it being whole ; it may have been a little shorter than the larger one. From inside this slenderer snake came out a little mouse ; it too was whole, broken nowhere.²

Fol. 240b.

On reaching Khwāja Sih-yārān there was a wine-party. To-day orders were written and despatched by Kīch-kīna the night-watch (*tūnqtār*) to the begs on that side (*i.e.* north of Hindū-kush), giving them a rendezvous and saying, "An army is being got to horse, take thought, and come to the rendezvous fixed."

(*August 15th*) We rode out at dawn and ate a confection. At the infall of the Parwān-water many fish were taken in the local way of casting a fish-drug into the water.³ Mīr Shāh Beg set food and water (*āsh u āb*) before us ; we then rode on to Gul-bahār. At a wine-party held after the Evening Prayer, Darwish-i-muḥammad (*Sārbān*) was present. Though a young man and a soldier, he had not yet committed the sin (*irtqāb*) of wine, but was in obedience (*tā'ib*). Qūtlūq Khwāja *Kūkūldāsh* had long before abandoned soldiering to become a darwish ; moreover he was very old, his very beard was quite white ; nevertheless he took his share of wine at these parties. Said I to Darwish-i-muḥammad, "Qūtlūq Khwāja's beard shames you ! He, a darwish and an old man, always drinks wine ; you, a soldier, a young man, your beard quite black, never drink ! What does it mean ?" My custom being not to press wine on a non-drinker, with so much said, it all passed off as a joke ; he was not pressed to drink.

¹ A *qūlāch* is from finger-tip to finger-tip of the outstretched arms (Zenker p. 720 and *Méms.* ii, 98).

² Neither *interne* is said to have died !

³ f. 143.

(*August 16th*) At dawn we made our morning (*ṣubūḥī ṣubūḥī qıldūk*).

(*August 17th*) Riding on Wednesday from Gul-i-bahār, we dismounted in Abūn-village¹ ate food, remounted, went to a summer-house in the orchards (*bāghāt-i-kham*) and there dismounted. There was a wine-party after the Mid-day Prayer. Fol. 241.

(*August 18th*) Riding on next day, we made the circuit of Khwāja Khāwand Sa'id's tomb, went to China-fort and there got on a raft. Just where the Panjhīr-water comes in, the raft struck the naze of a hill and began to sink. Rauḥ-dam, Tīngri-qulī and Mīr Muḥammad the raftsmen were thrown into the water by the shock; Rauḥ-dam and Tīngri-qulī were got on the raft again; a China cup and a spoon and a ṭambour went into the water. Lower down, the raft struck again opposite the Sang-i-barīda (the cut-stone), either on a branch in mid-stream or on a stake stuck in as a stop-water (*qāqghān qāzūq*). Right over on his back went Shāh Beg's Shāh Ḥasan, clutching at Mīrzā Qulī Kūkūldāsh and making him fall too. Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* was also thrown into the water. Mīrzā Qulī went over in his own fashion! Just when he fell, he was cutting a melon which he had in his hand; as he went over, he stuck his knife into the mat of the raft. He swam in his *tūn aūfrāghī*² and got out of the water without coming on the raft again. Leaving it that night, we slept at raftsmen's houses. Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* presented me with a seven-coloured cup exactly like the one lost in the water.

(*August 19th*) On Friday we rode away from the river's bank and dismounted below Aīndikī on the skirt of Koh-i-bacha where, with our own hands, we gathered plenty of tooth-picks.³ Fol. 241b. Passing on, food was eaten at the houses of the Khwāja Khīẓr people. We rode on and at the Mid-day Prayer dismounted in a village of Qūtlūq Khwāja's fief in Lamghān where he made ready a hasty meal (*mā ḥazīrī*); after partaking of this, we mounted and went to Kābul.

¹ or Atūn's-village, one granted to Bābur's mother's old governess (f. 96); Gul-badan's guest-list has also an Atūn Māmā.

² f. 235b and note.

³ *miswāk*; *On les tire principalement de l'arbuste épineux appelé capparis-sodata* (de C. ii, 101 n.).

(bb. *Various incidents.*)

(*August 22nd*) On Monday the 25th, a special honorary dress and a saddled horse were bestowed on Darwīsh-i-muḥammad *Sārbān* and he was made to kneel as a retainer (*naukar*).

(*August 24th*) For 4 or 5 months I had not had my head shaved; on Wednesday the 27th, I had it done. Today there was a wine-party.

(*August 26th*) On Friday the 29th, Mīr Khūrd was made to kneel as Hind-āl's guardian.¹ He made an offering of 1000 *shāhrukhīs* (circa £50).

(*August 31st*) On Wednesday the 5th of Ramzān, a dutiful letter was brought by Tūlik Kūkūldāsh's servant Barlās Jūkī(?). Aūzbeg raiders had gone into those parts (Badakhshān); Tūlik had gone out, fought and beaten them. Barlās Jūkī brought one live Aūzbeg and one head.

(*Sep. 2nd*) In the night of Saturday the 8th, we broke our fast² in Qāsim Beg's house; he led out a saddled horse for me.

(*Sep. 3rd*) On Sunday night the fast was broken in Khalīfā's house; he offered me a saddled horse.

(*Sep. 4th*) Next day came Khwāja Muḥ. 'Alī and Jān-i-nāṣir who had been summoned from their districts for the good of the army.³

(*Sep. 7th*) On Wednesday the 12th, Kāmran's maternal uncle Sl. 'Alī Mīrzā arrived.⁴ As has been mentioned,⁵ he had gone to Kāshghar in the year I came from Khwāst into Kābul.

(cc. *A Yūsuf-zāi campaign.*)

(*Sep. 8th*) We rode out on Thursday the 13th of the month of Ramzān, resolved and determined to check and ward off the

¹ Gul-badan's H.N. Index s.n.

² This being Ramzān, Bābur did not break his fast till sun-set. In like manner, during Ramzān they eat in the morning before sun-rise (Erskine).

³ A result, doubtless, of the order mentioned on f. 240b.

⁴ Bābur's wife Gul-rukh appears to have been his sister or niece; he was a Begchik. Cf. Gul-badan's H.N. trs. p. 233, p. 234; T.R. p. 264-5.

⁵ This remark bears on the question of whether we now have all Bābur wrote of Autobiography. It refers to a date falling within the previous gap, because the man went to Kāshghar while Bābur was ruling in Samarkand (T.R. p. 265). The last time Bābur came from Khwāst to Kābul was probably in 920 A.H.; if later, it was still in the gap. But an alternative explanation is that looking over and annotating the diary section, Bābur made this reference to what he fully meant to write but died before being able to do so.

Yūsuf-zāī, and we dismounted in the meadow on the Dih-iyāq'ūb side of Kābul. When we were mounting, the equerry Bābā Jān led forward a rather good-for-nothing horse; in my anger I struck him in the face a blow which dislocated my fist below the ring-finger.¹ The pain was not much at the time, but was rather bad when we reached our encampment-ground. For some time I suffered a good deal and could not write. It got well at last.

To this same assembly-ground were brought letters and presents (*bīlāk*) from my maternal-aunt Daulat-sultān Khānīm² in Kāshghar, by her foster-brother Daulat-i-muḥammad. On the same day Bū Khān and Mūsa, chiefs of the Dilazāk, came, bringing tribute, and did obeisance.

(*Sep. 11th*) On Sunday the 16th Qūj Beg came.

(*Sep. 14th*) Marching on Wednesday the 19th we passed through Būt-khāk and, as usual, dismounted on the Būt-khāk water.³

As Qūj Beg's districts, Bāmiān, Kāh-mard and Ghūrī, are close to the Aūzbeg, he was excused from going with this army and given leave to return to them from this ground. I bestowed on him a turban twisted for myself, and also a head-to-foot (*bāsh-ayāq*).

(*Sep. 16th*) On Friday the 21st, we dismounted at Badām-Fol. 242b. chashma.

(*Sep. 17th*) Next day we dismounted on the Bārīk-āb, I reaching the camp after a visit to Qarā-tū. On this ground honey was obtained from a tree.

(*Sep. 20th*) We went on march by march till Wednesday the 26th, and dismounted in the Bāgh-i-wafā.

(*Sep. 21st*) Thursday we just stayed in the garden.

(*Sep. 22nd*) On Friday we marched out and dismounted beyond Sultānpūr. Today Shāh Mīr Husain came from his country. Today came also Dilazāk chiefs under Bū Khān and

¹ Anglicé, the right thumb, on which the archer's ring (*zih-gīr*) is worn.

² a daughter of Yūnas Khān, Haidar's account of whom is worth seeing.

³ i.e. the water of Luhugūr (Logar). Tradition says that Būt-khāk (Idol-dust) was so named because there Śl. Mahmūd of Ghaznī had idols, brought by him out of Hindūstān, pounded to dust. Raverty says the place is probably the site of an ancient temple (*vahāra*).

Mūsa. My plan had been to put down the Yūsuf-zāi in Sawād, but these chiefs set forth to me that there was a large horde (*aūlūs*) in Hash-naghar and that much corn was to be had there. They were very urgent for us to go to Hash-naghar. After consultation the matter was left in this way :—As it is said there is much corn in Hash-naghar, the Afghāns there shall be overrun ; the forts of Hash-naghar and Parashāwar shall be put into order ; part of the corn shall be stored in them and they be left in charge of Shāh Mīr Ḥusain and a body of braves. To suit Shāh Mīr Ḥusain's convenience in this, he was given 15 days leave, with a rendezvous named for him to come to after going to his country and preparing his equipment.

(*Sep. 23rd*) Marching on next day, we reached Jūi-shāhī and there dismounted. On this ground Tīngri-bīrdī and Sl. Muḥammad *Dūldāi* overtook us. Today came also Ḥamza from Qūndūz.¹

(*Sep. 25th*) On Sunday the last day of the month (Ramḡān), we marched from Jūi-shāhī and dismounted at Qīrīq-arīq (forty-conduits), I going by raft, with a special few. The new moon of the Feast was seen at that station.² People had brought a few beast-loads of wine from Nūr-valley ;³ after the Evening Prayer there was a wine-party, those present being Muḥibb-i-‘alī the armourer, Khwāja Muḥ. ‘Alī the librarian, Shāh Beg's Shāh Ḥasan, Sl. Muḥ. *Dūldāi* and Darwīsh-i-muḥ. *Sārbān*, then obedient (*tā'ib*). From my childhood up it had been my rule not to press wine on a non-drinker ; Darwīsh-i-muḥammad was at every party and no pressure was put on him (by me), but Khwāja Muḥ. ‘Alī left him no choice ; he pressed him and pressed him till he made him drink.

(*Sep. 26th*) On Monday we marched with the dawn of the Feast-day,⁴ eating a confection on the road to dispel crop-sickness. While under its composing influence (*nāklīk*), we were brought a colocynth-apple (*khuntul*). Darwīsh-i-muḥammad had never

¹ Qāsim Beg's son, come, no doubt, in obedience to the order of f. 240b.

² The 'Īd-i-fitr is the festival at the conclusion of the feast of Ramḡān, celebrated on seeing the new moon of Shawwāl (Erskine).

³ f. 133b and Appendix G, *On the names of the wines of Nūr-valley*.

⁴ *i.e.* of the new moon of Shawwāl. The new moon having been seen the evening before, which to Musalmāns was Monday evening, they had celebrated the 'Īd-i-fitr on Monday eve (Erskine).

seen one ; said I, "It is a melon of Hindūstān," sliced it and gave him a piece. He bit into it at once ; it was night before the bitter taste went out of his mouth. At Garm-chashma we dismounted on rising-ground where cold meat was being set out for us when Langar Khān arrived to wait on me after being for a time at his own place (Koh-i-jūd). He brought an offering of a horse and a few confections. Passing on, we dismounted at Yada-bīr, at the Other Prayer got on a raft there, went for as much as two miles on it, then left it.

(*Sep. 27th*) Riding on next morning, we dismounted below the Khaibar-pass. Today arrived Sl. Bāyazīd, come up by the Bāra-road after hearing of us ; he set forth that the Afrīdī Afghāns were seated in Bāra with their goods and families and that they had grown a mass of corn which was still standing (lit. on foot). Our plan being for the Yūsuf-zāī Afghāns of Hash-naghar, we paid him no attention. At the Mid-day Prayer there was a wine-party in Khwāja Muḥammad 'Alī's tent. During the party details about our coming in this direction were written and sent off by the hand of a sulṭān of Tīrah to Khwāja Kalān in Bajaur. I wrote this couplet on the margin of the letter (*farmān*) :—

Say sweetly o breeze, to that beautiful fawn,
Thou hast given my head to the hills and the wild.*

(*Sep. 28th*) Marching on at dawn across the pass, we got through the Khaibar-narrows and dismounted at 'Alī-masjid. At the Mid-day Prayer we rode on, leaving the baggage behind, reached the Kābul-water at the second watch (midnight) and there slept awhile.

(*Sep. 29th*) A ford² was found at daylight ; we had forded the water (*sū-dīn kīchīldī*), when news came from our scout that the Afghāns had heard of us and were in flight. We went on, passed through the Sawād-water and dismounted amongst the Afghān corn-fields. Not a half, not a fourth indeed of the promised corn was had. The plan of fitting-up Hash-naghar, made under the hope of getting corn here, came to nothing. Fol. 244.

* Diwān of Hāfiẓ lith. ed. p. 22. The couplet seems to be another message to a woman (f. 238) ; here it might be to Bibi Mubāraka, still under Khwāja Kalān's charge in Bajaur (f. 221).

² Here and under date Sep. 30th the wording allows a ford.

The Dilazāk Afghāns, who had urged it on us, were ashamed. We next dismounted after fording the water of Sawād to its Kābul side.

(*Sep. 30th*) Marching next morning from the Sawād-water, we crossed the Kābul-water and dismounted. The Begs admitted to counsel were summoned and a consultation having been had, the matter was left at this :—that the Afrīdī Afghāns spoken of by Sl. Bāyazīd should be over-run, Pūrshāwūr-fort be fitted up on the strength of their goods and corn, and some-one left there in charge.

At this station Hindū Beg *Qūchīn* and the Mīr-zādas of Khwāst overtook us. Today *ma'jūn* was eaten, the party being Darwesh-i-muḥammad *Sārḥān*, Muḥammad Kūkūldāsh, Gadāi Ṭaghāi and 'Asas ; later on we invited Shāh Ḥasan also. After food had been placed before us, we went on a raft, at the Other Prayer. We called Langar Khān *Nīa-sāi* on also. At the Evening Prayer we got off the raft and went to camp.

(*Oct. 1st*) Marching at dawn, in accordance with the arrangement made on the Kābul-water, we passed Jām and dismounted at the outfall of the 'Alī-masjid water.¹

(*ad. Badakhshān affairs.*)

Sl. 'Alī (Ṭaghāi's servant?) Abū'l-hāshim overtaking us, said, "On the night of 'Arafā,² I was in Jūi-shāhī with a person from Badakhshān ; he told me that Sl. Sa'īd Khān had come with designs on Badakhshān, so I came on from Jūi-shāhī along the Jām-rūd, to give the news to the Pādshāh." On this the begs were summoned and advice was taken. In consequence of this news, it seemed inadvisable to victual the fort (Pūrshāwūr), and we started back intending to go to Badakhshān.³ Langar Khān was appointed to help Muḥ. 'Alī *Jang-jang* ; he was given an honorary dress and allowed to go.

Fol. 244b.

¹ This may be what Masson writes of (i, 149) "We reached a spot where the water supplying the rivulet (of 'Alī-masjid) gushes in a large volume from the rocks to the left. I slaked my thirst in the living spring and drank to repletion of the delightfully cool and transparent water."

² Mr. Erskine here notes, "This appears to be a mistake or oversight of Bābur. The eve of 'Arafā" (9th of Zū'l-hijja) "was not till the evening of Dec. 2nd 1519. He probably meant to say the 'Id-i-fitr which had occurred only five days before, on Sep. 26th."

³ This was an affair of frontiers (T.R. p. 354).

That night a wine-party was held in Khwāja Muḥ. 'Alī's tent. We marched on next day, crossed Khaibar and dismounted below the pass.

(*ee. The Khizr-khail Afghāns.*)

(*Oct. 3rd*) Many improper things the Khizr-khail had done! When the army went to and fro, they used to shoot at the laggards and at those dismounted apart, in order to get their horses. It seemed lawful therefore and right to punish them. With this plan we marched from below the pass at daybreak, ate our mid-day meal in Dih-i-ghulāmān (Basaul),¹ and after feeding our horses, rode on again at the Mid-day Prayer.

Muḥ. Ḥusain the armourer was made to gallop off to Kābul with orders to keep prisoner all Khizr-khailis there, and to submit to me an account of their possessions; also, to write a detailed account of whatever news there was from Badakhshān and to send a man off with it quickly from Kābul to me.

That night we moved on till the second watch (midnight), got a little beyond Sulṭānpūr, there slept awhile, then rode on again. The Khizr-khail were understood to have their seat from Bahār (Vihāra?) and Mīch-grām to Karā-sū (*sic*). Arriving before dawn, (*Oct. 4th*) the raid was allowed. Most of the goods of the Khizr-khailis and their small children fell into the army's hands; a few tribesmen, being near the mountains, drew off to them and were left. Fol. 245.

(*Oct. 5th*) We dismounted next day at Qīlaghū where pheasants were taken on our ground. Today the baggage came up from the rear and was unloaded here. Owing to this punitive raid, the Wazīrī Afghāns who never had given in their tribute well, brought 300 sheep.

(*Oct. 9th*) I had written nothing since my hand was dislocated; here I wrote a little, on Sunday the 14th of the month.²

(*Oct. 10th*) Next day came Afghān chiefs leading the Khirilchi [and] Samū-khail. The Dilazāk Afghāns entreated pardon for them; we gave it and set the captured free, fixed their tribute at 4000 sheep, gave coats (*tūn*) to their chiefs, appointed and sent out collectors.

¹ Manucci gives an account of the place (Irvine iv, 439 and ii, 447).

² Sep. 8th to Oct. 9th.

(Oct. 13th) These matters settled, we marched on Thursday the 18th, and dismounted at Bahār (Vihāra?) and Mīch-grām.

(Oct. 14th) Next day I went to the Bāgh-i-wafā. Those were the days of the garden's beauty; its lawns were one sheet of trefoil; its pomegranate-trees yellowed to autumn splendour,¹ their fruit full red; fruit on the orange-trees green and glad (*khurram*), countless oranges but not yet as yellow as our hearts desired! The pomegranates were excellent, not equal, however, to the best ones of Wilāyat.² The one excellent and blessed content we have had from the Bāgh-i-wafā was had at this time. We were there three or four days; during the time the whole camp had pomegranates in abundance.

Fol. 245b.

(Oct. 17th) We marched from the garden on Monday. I stayed in it till the first watch (9 a.m.) and gave away oranges; I bestowed the fruit of two trees on Shāh Ḥasan; to several begs I gave the fruit of one tree each; to some gave one tree for two persons. As we were thinking of visiting Lamghān in the winter, I ordered that they should reserve (*qūrūghlāilār*) at least 20 of the trees growing round the reservoir. That day we dismounted at Gandamak.

(Oct. 18th) Next day we dismounted at Jagdālik. Near the Evening Prayer there was a wine-party at which most of the household were present. After a time Qāsim Beg's sister's son Gadāi *bihjat*³ used very disturbing words and, being drunk, slid down on the cushion by my side, so Gadāi Ṭaghāi picked him up and carried him out from the party.

(Oct. 19th) Marching next day from that ground, I made an excursion up the valley-bottom of the Bārik-āb towards Qūrūq-sāi. A few purslain trees were in the utmost autumn beauty. On dismounting, seasonable⁴ food was set out. The vintage

¹ *khūsh rang-i khizān*. Sometimes Bābur's praise of autumn allows the word *khizān* to mean the harvest-crops themselves, sometimes the autumnal colouring.

² This I have taken to mean the Kābul *tūmān*. The Hai. MS. writes *wilāyatlār* (plural) thus suggesting that *aīl* (those) may be omitted, and those countries (Trans-oxiana) be meant; but the second Pers. trs. (I.O. 217 f. 169) supports *wilāyat*, Kābul.

³ joyous, happy.

⁴ *y:lk:rān*. This word has proved a difficulty to all translators. I suggest that it stands for *aīlkarān*, what came to hand (*aīlīk* see de C.'s Dict.); also that it contains puns referring to the sheep taken from the road (*yūlkarān*) and to the wine of the year's yield (*yīlkarān*). The way-side meal was of what came to hand, mutton and wine, probably local.

was the cause! wine was drunk! A sheep was ordered brought from the road and made into *kabābs* (*brochettes*). We amused ourselves by setting fire to branches of holm-oak.¹

Mullā 'Abdu'l-malik *dīwāna*² having begged to take the news of our coming into Kābul, was sent ahead. To this place came Ḥasan Nabīra from Mīrzā Khān's presence; he must have come after letting me know [his intention of coming].³ There was drinking till the Sun's decline; we then rode off. People in our party had become very drunk, Sayyid Qāsim so much so, that two of his servants mounted him and got him into camp with difficulty. Muḥ. Bāqir's Dost was so drunk that people, headed by Amīn-i-muḥammad Tarkhān and Mastī *chuhra*, could not get him on his horse; even when they poured water on his head, nothing was effected. At that moment a body of Afghāns appeared. Amīn-i-muḥammad, who had had enough himself, had this idea, "Rather than leave him here, as he is, to be taken, let us cut his head off and carry it with us." At last after 100 efforts, they mounted him and brought him with them. We reached Kābul at midnight. Fol. 246.

(ff. *Incidents in Kābul*.)

In Court next morning Qulī Beg waited on me. He had been to Sī. Sa'īd Khān's presence in Kāshghar as my envoy. To him as envoy to me had been added Bīshka Mīrzā *Itārchī*⁴ who brought me gifts of the goods of that country.

(Oct. 25th) On Wednesday the 1st of Zū'l-qa'da, I went by myself to Qābil's tomb⁵ and there took my morning. The people of the party came later by ones and twos. When the Sun waxed hot, we went to the Violet-garden and drank there, by the side of the reservoir. Mid-day coming on, we slept. At the Mid-day Prayer we drank again. At this mid-day party I gave wine to Tīngri-qulī Beg and to Mahndī (?) to whom at any earlier party, wine had not been given. At the Bed-time Prayer, I went to the Hot-bath where I stayed the night. Fol. 246b.

¹ f. 141b.

² f. 217 and n.

³ I think Bābur means that the customary announcement of an envoy or guest must have reached Kābul in his absence.

⁴ He is in the T.R. list of the tribe (p. 307); to it belonged Sī. Aḥmad *Tambal* (ib. p. 316).

⁵ *Qābil-nīng kūrī-nīng qāshī-ka*, lit. to the presence of the tomb of Qābil, i.e. Cain the eponymous hero of Kābul. The Elph. MS. has been altered to "Qābil Beg"!

(Oct. 26th) On Thursday honorary dresses were bestowed on the Hindūstānī traders, headed by Yaḥya Nūḥānī, and they were allowed to go.

(Oct. 28th) On Saturday the 4th, a dress and gifts were bestowed on Bīshka Mīrzā, who had come from Kāshghar, and he was given leave to go.

(Oct. 29th) On Sunday there was a party in the little Picture-hall over the (Chār-bāgh) gate; small retreat though it is, 16 persons were present.

(gg. *Excursion to the Koh-dāman.*)

(Oct. 30th) Today we went to Istālīf to see the harvest (*khizān*). Today was done the sin (? *irtikāb qīlīb ādī*) of *ma'jūn*. Much rain fell; most of the begs and the household came into my tent, outside the Bāgh-i-kalān.

(Oct. 31st) Next day there was a wine-party in the same garden, lasting till night.

(November 1st) At dawn we took our morning (*ṣubāḥī ṣubūḥī qīldūk*) and got drunk, took a sleep, and at the Mid-day Prayer rode from Istālīf. On the road a confection was eaten. We reached Bih-zādī at the Other Prayer. The harvest-crops were very beautiful; while we were viewing them those disposed for wine began to agitate about it. The harvest-colour was extremely beautiful; wine was drunk, though *ma'jūn* had been eaten, sitting under autumnal trees. The party lasted till the Bed-time Prayer. Khalīfa's Mullā Maḥmūd arriving, we had him summoned to join the party. 'Abdu'l-lāh was very drunk indeed; a word affecting Khalīfa (*ṭarfādān*) being said, 'Abdu'l-lāh forgot Mullā Maḥmūd and recited this line :—

Regard whom thou wilt, he suffers from the same wound.²

Mullā Maḥmūd was sober; he blamed 'Abdu'l-lāh for repeating that line in jest; 'Abdu'l-lāh came to his senses, was troubled in mind, and after this talked and chatted very sweetly.

Our excursion to view the harvest was over; we dismounted, close to the Evening Prayer, in the Chār-bāgh.

(Nov. 12th) On Friday the 16th, after eating a confection

² Mr. Erskine surmised that the line was from some religious poem of mystical meaning and that its profane application gave offence.

with a few special people in the Violet-garden, we went on a boat. Humāyūn and Kāmṛān were with us later; Humāyūn made a very good shot at a duck.

(hh. *A Bohemian episode.*)

(Nov. 14th) On Saturday the 18th, I rode out of the Chār-bāgh at midnight, sent night-watch and groom back, crossed Mullā Bābā's bridge, got out by the Dīūrīn-narrows, round by the bāzārs and *kāres* of Qūsh-nādūr (var.), along the back of the Bear-house (*khirs-khāna*), and near sunrise reached Tardī Beg *Khāk-sār's*¹ *kārez*. He ran out quickly on hearing of me. His shortness (*qālāshlighī*) was known; I had taken 100 *shāhrukhīs* (£5) with me; I gave him these and told him to get wine and other things ready as I had a fancy for a private and unrestrained party. He went for wine towards Bih-zādī²; I sent my horse by his slave to the valley-bottom and sat down on the slope behind the *kārez*. At the first watch (9 a.m.) Tardī Beg brought Fol. 247b. a pitcher of wine which we drank by turns. After him came Muḥammad-i-qāsim *Barlās* and Shāh-zāda who had got to know of his fetching the wine, and had followed him, their minds quite empty of any thought about me. We invited them to the party. Said Tardī Beg, "Hul-hul Anīga wishes to drink wine with you." Said I, "For my part, I never saw a woman drink wine; invite her." We also invited Shāhī a qalandar, and one of the *kārez*-men who played the rebeck. There was drinking till the Evening Prayer on the rising-ground behind the *kārez*; we then went into Tardī Beg's house and drank by lamp-light almost till the Bed-time Prayer. The party was quite free and unpretending. I lay down, the others went to another house and drank there till beat of drum (midnight). Hul-hul Anīga came in and made me much disturbance; I got rid of her at last by flinging myself down as if drunk. It was in my mind to put people off their guard, and ride off alone to Astar-ghach, but it did not come off because they got to know. In the end, I rode

¹ His sobriquet *khāksār*, one who sits in the dust, suits the excavator of a *kārez*. Bābur's route can be followed in Masson's (iii, 110), apparently to the very *kārez*.

² In Masson's time this place was celebrated for vinegar. To reach it and return must have occupied several hours.

away at beat of drum, after letting Tardī Beg and Shāh-zāda know. We three mounted and made for Astar-ghach.

(*Nov. 15th*) We reached Khwāja Ḥasan below Istālīf by the first prayer (*farḡ waqt*); dismounted for a while, ate a confection, and went to view the harvest. When the Sun was up, we dismounted at a garden in Istālīf and ate grapes. We slept at Khwāja Shahāb, a dependency of Astar-ghach. Ātā, the Master of the Horse, must have had a house somewhere near, for before we were awake he had brought food and a pitcher of wine. The vintage was very fine. After drinking a few cups, we rode on. We next dismounted in a garden beautiful with autumn; there a party was held at which Khwāja Muḥammad Amīn joined us. Drinking went on till the Bed-time Prayer. During that day and night 'Abdu'l-lāh, 'Asas, Nūr Beg and Yūsuf-i-'alī all arrived from Kābul.

(*Nov. 16th*) After food at dawn, we rode out and visited the Bāgh-i-pādshāhī below Astar-ghach. One young apple-tree in it had turned an admirable autumn-colour; on each branch were left 5 or 6 leaves in regular array; it was such that no painter trying to depict it could have equalled. After riding from Astar-ghach we ate at Khwāja Ḥasan, and reached Bih-zādī at the Evening Prayer. There we drank in the house of Khwāja Muḥ. Amīn's servant Imām-i-muḥammad.

(*Nov. 17th*) Next day, Tuesday, we went into the Chār-bāgh of Kābul.

(*Nov. 18th*) On Thursday the 23rd, having marched (*kūchūb*), the fort was entered.

(*Nov. 19th*) On Friday Muḥammad 'Alī (son of ?) Ḥaidar the stirrup-holder brought, as an offering, a *tūīgūn*¹ he had caught.

(*Nov. 20th*) On Saturday the 25th, there was a party in the Plane-tree garden from which I rose and mounted at the Bed-time Prayer. Sayyid Qāsim being in shame at past occurrences,² we dismounted at his house and drank a few cups.

Fol. 248b. (*Nov. 24th*) On Thursday the 1st of Zū'l-hijja, Tāju'd-dīn Maḥmūd, come from Qandahār, waited on me.

¹ Kunos, *āq tūīgūn*, white falcon; '*Amal-i-ṣāliḥ*' (I.O. MS. No. 857, f. 45b), *taus tūīgūn*.

² f. 246.

(*Dec. 12th*) On Monday the 19th, Muh. 'Alī *Jang-jang* came from Nīl-āb.

(*Dec. 13th*) On Tuesday the . . . of the month, Sangar Khān *Janjūha*, come from Bhīra, waited on me.

(*Dec. 16th*) On Friday the 23rd, I finished (copying?) the odes and couplets selected according to their measure from 'Alī-sher Beg's four *Dīwāns*.¹

(*Dec. 20th*) On Tuesday the 27th there was a social-gathering in the citadel, at which it was ordered that if any-one went out from it drunk, that person should not be invited to a party again.

(*Dec. 23rd*) On Friday the 30th of Zū'l-hijja it was ridden out with the intention of making an excursion to Lamghān.

¹ Nawā'ī himself arranged them according to the periods of his life (Rieu's *Pers Cat.* p. 294).

926 A.H.—DEC. 23RD 1519 TO DEC. 12TH 1520 A.D.¹

(a. *Excursion to the Koh-dāman and Kohistān.*)

(*Dec. 23rd*) On Saturday Muḥarram 1st Khwāja Sih-yārān was reached. A wine-party was had on the bank of the conduit, where this comes out on the hill.²

(*Dec. 24th*) Riding on next morning (2nd), we visited the moving sands (*reg-i-rawān*). A party was held in Sayyid Qāsim's *Bulbul's* house.³

(*Dec. 25th*) Riding on from there, we ate a confection (*ma'jūn*), went further and dismounted at Bilkir (?).

(*Dec. 26th*) At dawn (4th) we made our morning [*subāḥi subūhī qīldūk*], although there might be drinking at night. We rode on at the Mid-day Prayer, dismounted at Dūr-nāma⁴ and there had a wine party.

(*Dec. 27th*) We took our morning early. Ḥaq-dād, the headman of Dūr-namā made me an offering (*pesh-kash*) of his garden.

(*Dec. 28th*) Riding thence on Thursday (6th), we dismounted at the villages of the Tājiks in Nijr-aū.

(*Dec. 29th*) On Friday (7th) we hunted the hill between Forty-ploughs (*Chihil-qulba*) and the water of Bārān; many deer fell. I had not shot an arrow since my hand was hurt; now, with an easy⁵ bow, I shot a deer in the shoulder, the arrow going in to half up the feather. Returning from hunting, we went on at the Other Prayer in Nijr-aū.

¹ Elph. MS. f. 202b; W.-i-B. I.O. 215 f. 175 (misplaced) and 217 f. 172; Mems. p. 281.

² *pushia austīda*; the Jūi-khwūsh of f. 137.

³ The Hai. MS. omits a passage here; the Elph. MS. reads *Qāsim Bulbuli nīng awī*, thus making "nightingale" a sobriquet of Qāsim's own. Erskine (p. 281) has "Bulbuli-hall"; Ilminsky's words translate as, the house of Sayyid Qāsim's nightingale (p. 321).

⁴ or Dūr-namā'i, seen from afar.

⁵ *narm-dāk*, the opposite of a *qūtiq yāi*, a stiff bow. Some MSS. write *lāsim-dāk* which might be read to mean such a bow as his disablement allowed to be used.

(*Dec. 30th*) Next day (Saturday 8th) the tribute of the Nijr-aū people was fixed at 60 gold miṣqāls.¹

(*Jan. 1st*) On Monday (10th) we rode on intending to visit Lamghān.² I had expected Humāyūn to go with us, but as he inclined to stay behind, leave was given him from Kūra-pass. We went on and dismounted in Badr-aū (Tag-aū).

(*b. Excursions in Lamghān.*)

(*Jan. . .*) Riding on, we dismounted at Aūlūgh-nūr.³ The fishermen there took fish at one draught⁴ from the water of Bārān. At the Other Prayer (afternoon) there was drinking on the raft; and there was drinking in a tent after we left the raft at the Evening Prayer.

Haidar the standard-bearer had been sent from Dāwar⁵ to the Kāfirs; several Kāfir headmen came now to the foot of Bād-i-pīch (pass), brought a few goat-skins of wine, and did obeisance. In descending that pass a surprising number of . . .⁶ was seen.

(*Jan. . .*) Next day getting on a raft, we ate a confection, got off below Būlān and went to camp. There were two rafts.

(*Jan. 5th*) Marching on Friday (14th), we dismounted below Mandrāwar on the hill-skirt. There was a late wine-party.

(*Jan. 6th*) On Saturday (15th), we passed through the Darūta narrows by raft, got off a little above Jahān-namā'ī (Jalālābād) and went to the Bāgh-i-wafā in front of Adīnapūr. When we were leaving the raft the governor of Nīngnahār Qayyām Aūrdū Shāh came and did obeisance. Langar Khān *Nīā-sāi*,— he had Fol. 249b.

¹ Mr. Erskine, writing early in the 19th century, notes that this seems an easy tribute, about 400 *rupīs* i.e. £40.

² This is one of the three routes into Lamghān of f. 133.

³ f. 251b and Appendix F, *On the name Dāra-i-nūr*.

⁴ This passage will be the basis of the account on f. 143b of the winter-supply of fish in Lamghān.

⁵ This word or name is puzzling. Avoiding extreme detail as to variants, I suggest that it is Dāūr-bin for Dūr-namā'ī if a place-name; or, if not, *dūr-bīn*, foresight (in either case the preposition requires to be supplied), and it may refer to foreseen need of and curiosity about Kāfir wines.

⁶ *chīūrtika* or *chīūr-i-tika*, whether *sauterelle* as M. de Courteille understood, or *jānwār-i-ranga* and *chikūr*, partridge as the 1st Persian trs. and as Mr. Erskine (explaining *chūr-i-tika*) thought, must be left open. Two points arise however, (1) the time is January, the place the deadly Bād-i-pīch pass; would these suit locusts? (2) If Bābur's account of a splendid bird (f. 135) were based on this experience, this would be one of several occurrences in which what is entered in the Description of Kābul of 910 A.H. is found as an experience in the diary of 925-6 A.H.

been in Nīl-āb for a time,—waited upon me on the road. We dismounted in the Bāgh-i-wafā; its oranges had yellowed beautifully; its spring-bloom was well-advanced, and it was very charming. We stayed in it five or six days.

As it was my wish and inclination (*jū dagh-dagha*) to return to obedience (*tā'ib*) in my 40th year, I was drinking to excess now that less than a year was left.

(*Jan. 7th*) On Sunday the 16th, having made my morning (*ṣubūḥī*) and became sober. Mullā Yārak played an air he had composed in five-time and in the five-line measure (*makhammas*), while I chose to eat a confection (*ma'jūn*). He had composed an excellent air. I had not occupied myself with such things for some time; a wish to compose came over me now, so I composed an air in four-time, as will be mentioned in time.¹

(*Jan. 10th*) On Wednesday (19th) it was said for fun, while we were making our morning (*ṣubūḥī*), "Let whoever speaks like a Sārt (*i.e.* in Persian) drink a cup." Through this many drank. At *sunnat-waqt*² again, when we were sitting under the willows in the middle of the meadow, it was said, "Let whoever speaks like a Turk, drink a cup!" Through this also numbers drank. After the sun got up, we drank under the orange-trees on the reservoir-bank.

(*Jan. 11th*) Next day (20th) we got on a raft from Darūta; got off again below Jūi-shāhī and went to Atar.

(*Jan. . .*) We rode from there to visit Nūr-valley, went as far as Sūsān (lily)-village, then turned back and dismounted in Amla.

Fol. 250.

(*Jan. 14th*) As Khwāja Kalān had brought Bajaur into good order, and as he was a friend of mine, I had sent for him and had made Bajaur over to Shāh Mīr Ḥusain's charge. On Saturday the 22nd of the month (Muḥarram), Shāh Mīr Ḥusain was given leave to go. That day in Amla we drank.

(*Jan. 15th*) It rained (*yāmgḥūr yāghdūrūb*) next day (23rd).

¹ Hai. MS. *maḥali-da maḥkūr būlghūstīdūr*, but W. -i-B. I.O. 215 f. 176 for *maḥali-da*, in its place, has *dar majlis* [in the collection], which may point to an intended collection of Bābur's musical compositions. Either reading indicates intention to write what we now have not.

² Perhaps an equivalent for *farṣ-waqt*, the time of the first obligatory prayer. Much seems to happen before the sun got up high!

When we reached Kula-grām in Kūnār¹ where Malik 'Alī's house is, we dismounted at his middle son's house, overlooking an orange-orchard. We did not go into the orchard because of the rain but just drank where we were. The rain was very heavy. I taught Mullā 'Alī Khān a ṭalisman I knew; he wrote it on four pieces of paper and hung them on four sides; as he did it, the rain stopped and the air began to clear.

(*Jan. 16th*) At dawn (24th) we got on a raft; on another several braves went. People in Bajaur, Sawād, Kūnār and thereabouts make a beer (*bīr būza*)² the ferment of which is a thing they call *kīm*.³ This *kīm* they make of the roots of herbs and several simples, shaped like a loaf, dried and kept by them. Some sorts of beer are surprisingly exhilarating, but bitter and distasteful. We had thought of drinking beer but, because of its bitter taste, preferred a confection. 'Asas, Ḥasan *Aikirik*,⁴ and Mastī, on the other raft, were ordered to drink some; they did so and became quite drunk. Ḥasan *Aikirik* set up a disgusting disturbance; 'Asas, very drunk, did such unpleasant things that we were most uncomfortable (*ba tang*). I thought of having them put off on the far side of the water, but some of the others begged them off. Fol. 230b.

I had sent for Khwāja Kalān at this time and had bestowed Bajaur on Shāh Mīr Ḥusain. For why? Khwāja Kalān was a friend; his stay in Bajaur had been long; moreover the Bajaur appointment appeared an easy one.

At the ford of the Kūnār-water Shāh Mīr Ḥusain met me on his way to Bajaur. I sent for him and said a few trenchant words, gave him some special armour, and let him go.

Opposite Nūr-gal (Rock-village) an old man begged from those on the rafts; every-one gave him something, coat (*tūn*), turban, bathing-cloth and so on, so he took a good deal away.

At a bad place in mid-stream the raft struck with a great shock; there was much alarm; it did not sink but Mīr Muḥammad the raftsmen was thrown into the water. We were near Atar that night.

¹ Koh-i-nūr, Rocky-mountains (?). See Appendix F, *On the name Dara-i-nūr*.

² Steingass gives *būza* as made of rice, millet, or barley.

³ Is this connected with Arabic *kīmiyā*, alchemy, chemistry?

⁴ Turkī, a whirlpool; but perhaps the name of an office from *aīgar*, a saddle.

(*Jan. 17th*) On Tuesday (25th) we reached Mandrāwar.¹ Qūtlūq-qadam and his father had arranged a party inside the fort; though the place had no charm, a few cups were drunk there to please them. We went to camp at the Other Prayer.

Fol. 251.

(*Jan. 18th*) On Wednesday (26th) an excursion was made to Kind-kir² spring. Kind-kir is a dependent village of the Mandrāwar *tūmān*, the one and only village of the Lamghānāt where dates are grown. It lies rather high on the mountain-skirt, its date lands on its east side. At one edge of the date lands is the spring, in a place aside (*yān yīr*). Six or seven yards below the spring-head people have heaped up stones to make a shelter³ for bathing and by so-doing have raised the water in the reservoir high enough for it to pour over the heads of the bathers. The water is very soft; it is felt a little cold in wintry days but is pleasant if one stays in it.

(*Jan. 19th*) On Thursday (27th) Sher Khān *Tarkalānī* got us to dismount at his house and there gave us a feast (*ziyāfat*). Having ridden on at the Mid-day Prayer, fish were taken out of the fish-ponds of which particulars have been given.⁴

(*Jan. 20th*) On Friday (28th) we dismounted near Khwāja Mīr-i-mīrān's village. A party was held there at the Evening Prayer.

(*Jan. 21st*) On Saturday (29th) we hunted the hill between 'Alī-shang and Alangār. One hunting-circle having been made on the 'Alī-shang side, another on the Alangār, the deer were driven down off the hill and many were killed. Returning from hunting, we dismounted in a garden belonging to the Maliks of Alangār and there had a party.

Half of one of my front-teeth had broken off, the other half remaining; this half broke off today while I was eating food.

(*Jan. 22nd*) At dawn (Šafar 1st) we rode out and had a fishing-net cast, at mid-day went into 'Alī-shang and drank in a garden.

¹ The river on which the rafts were used was the Kūnār, from Chitrāl.

² An uncertain name. I have an impression that these waters are medicinal, but I cannot trace where I found the information. The visit paid to them, and the arrangement made for bathing set them apart. The name of the place may convey this speciality.

³ *panāhi*, the word used for the hiding-places of bird-catchers on f. 140.

⁴ This will be the basis of the details about fishing given on f. 143 and f. 143b. The statement that particulars have been given allows the inference that the diary was annotated after the *Description of Kābul*, in which the particulars are, was written.

(*Jan. 23rd*) Next day (Ṣafar 2nd) Ḥamza Khān, Malik of 'Alī-shang was made over to the avengers-of-blood¹ for his evil deeds in shedding innocent blood, and retaliation was made.

(*Jan. 24th*) On Tuesday, after reading a chapter of the Qorān Fol. 251b. (*wird*), we turned for Kābul by the Yān-būlāgh road. At the Other Prayer, we passed the [Bārān]-water from Aūlūgh-nūr (Great-rock); reached Qarā-tū by the Evening Prayer, there gave our horses corn and had a hasty meal prepared, rode on again as soon as they had finished their barley.²

¹ *qānliqlār*. This right of private revenge which forms part of the law of most rude nations, exists in a mitigated form under the Muhammadan law. The criminal is condemned by the judge, but is delivered up to the relations of the person murdered, to be ransomed or put to death as they think fit (Erskine).

² Here the text breaks off and a *lacuna* separates the diary of 11 months length which ends the Kābul section of the *Bābur-nāma* writings, from the annals of 932 AH. which begin the Hindūstān section. There seems no reason why the diary should have been discontinued.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE ON 926 TO 932 AH.—1520 TO 1525 AD.

Bābur's diary breaks off here for five years and ten months.¹ His activities during the unrecorded period may well have left no time in which to keep one up, for in it he went thrice to Qandahār, thrice into India, once to Badakhshān, once to Balkh; twice at least he punished refractory tribesmen; he received embassies from Hindūstān, and must have had much to oversee in muster and equipment for his numerous expeditions. Over and above this, he produced the *Mubīn*, a Turkī poem of 2000 lines.

That the gap in his autobiography is not intentional several passages in his writings show;² he meant to fill it; there is no evidence that he ever did so; the reasonable explanation of his failure is that he died before he had reached this part of his book.

The events of these unrecorded years are less interesting than those of the preceding gap, inasmuch as their drama of human passion is simpler; it is one mainly of cross-currents of ambition, nothing in it matching the maelstrom of sectarian hate, tribal antipathy, and racial struggle which engulfed Bābur's fortunes beyond the Oxus.

None-the-less the period has its distinctive mark, the biographical one set by his personality as his long-sustained effort works out towards rule in Hindūstān. He becomes felt; his surroundings bend to his purpose; his composite following accepts his goal; he gains the southern key of Kābul and Hindūstān and presses the Arghūns out from his rear; in the Panj-āb he becomes a power; the Rājput Rānā of Chitor proffers him alliance against Ibrāhīm; and his intervention is sought in those warrings of the Afghāns which were the matrix of his own success.

¹ Jan. 2 th 1520 to Nov. 17th 1525 AD. (Şafar

926 to Şafar 1st 932 AH.).

² Index *s.nn.* Bāgh-i-şafā and B.N. *lacunae*.

α. Dramatis personae.

The following men played principal parts in the events of the unchronicled years :—

Bābur in Kābul, Badakhshān and Balkh,¹ his earlier following purged of Mughūl rebellion, and augmented by the various Mīrzās-in-exile in whose need of employment Shāh Beg saw Bābur's need of wider territory.²

Sultān Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* who had succeeded after his father Sikandar's death (Sunday Zū'l-qa'da 7th 923 AH.—Nov. 21st 1517 AD.)³, was now embroiled in civil war, and hated for his tyranny and cruelty.

Shāh Ismā'il *Ṣafawī*, ruling down to Rajab 19th 930 AH. (May 24th 1524 AD.) and then succeeded by his son Ṭahmāsp *aet.* 10.

Kūchūm (Kūchkūnjī) Khān, Khāqān of the Aūzbegs, Shai-bānī's successor, now in possession of Transoxiana.

Sultān Sa'id Khān *Chaghatāi*, with head-quarters in Kāshghar, a ruler amongst the Mughūls but not their Khāqān, the supreme Khānship being his elder brother Manṣūr's.

Shāh Shujā' Beg *Arghūn*, who, during the period, at various times held Qandahār, Shāl, Mustang, Sīwistān, and part of Sind. He died in 930 AH. (1524 AD.) and was succeeded by his son Ḥasan who read the *khutba* for Bābur.

Khān Mīrzā *Mīrānshāhī*, who held Badakhshān from Bābur, with head-quarters in Qūndūz; he died in 927 AH. (1520 AD.) and was succeeded in his appointment by Humāyūn *aet.* 13.

¹ Nominally Balkh seems to have been a Ṣafawī possession; but it is made to seem closely dependent on Bābur by his receipt from Muḥammad-i-zamān in it of *taṣadduq* (money for alms), and by his action connected with it (*q.v.*).

² *Tārīkh-i-sind*, Malet's trs. p. 77 and *in loco*, p. 365.

³ A chronogram given by Badāyūnī decides the vexed question of the date of Sikandar *Lūdī*'s death—*Jannātu'l-firdūs nazlā* = 923 (Bib. Ind. ed. i, 322, Ranking trs. p. 425 n. 6). Erskine supported 924 AH. (i, 407), partly relying on an entry in Bābur's diary (f. 226b) *s.d.* Rabi'ū'l-awwal 1st 925 AH. (March 3rd 1519 AD.) which states that on that day Mullā Murshid was sent to Ibrāhīm whose father Sikandar had died five or six months before.

Against this is the circumstance that the entry about Mullā Murshid is, perhaps entirely, certainly partly, of later entry than what precedes and what follows it in the diary. This can be seen on examination; it is a passage such as the diary section shews in other places, added to the daily record and giving this the character of a draft waiting for revision and rewriting (fol. 216b n.).

(To save difficulty to those who may refer to the L. & E. *Memoirs* on the point, I mention that the whole passage about Mullā Murshid is displaced in that book and that the date March 3rd is omitted.)

Muhammad-i-zamān *Bāi-qarā* who held Balkh perhaps direct from Bābur, perhaps from Ismā'il through Bābur.

'Alā'u'd-dīn 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī*, brother of the late Sulṭān Sikandar *Lūdī* and now desiring to supersede his nephew Ibrāhīm.

Daulat Khān *Yūsuf-khail* (as Bābur uniformly describes him), or *Lūdī* (as other writers do), holding Lāhor for Ibrāhīm *Lūdī* at the beginning of the period.

SOURCES FOR THE EVENTS OF THIS GAP

A complete history of the events the *Bābur-nāma* leaves unrecorded has yet to be written. The best existing one, whether Oriental or European, is Erskine's *History of India*, but this does not exhaust the sources—notably not using the *Ḥabību's-siyar*—and could be revised here and there with advantage.

Most of the sources enumerated as useful for filling the previous gap are so here; to them must be added, for the affairs of Qandahār, Khwānd-amīr's *Ḥabību's-siyar*. This Mīr Ma'sūm's *Tārīkh-i-sind* supplements usefully, but its brevity and its discrepant dates make it demand adjustment; in some details it is expanded by Sayyid Jamāl's *Tarkhān-* or *Arghūn-nāma*.

For the affairs of Hindūstān the main sources are enumerated in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India* and in Nassau Lees' *Materials for the history of India*. Doubtless all will be exhausted for the coming *Cambridge History of India*.

EVENTS OF THE UNCHRONICLED YEARS

926 AH.—DEC. 23RD 1519 TO DEC. 12TH 1520 AD.

The question of which were Bābur's "Five expeditions" into Hindūstān has been often discussed; it is useful therefore to establish the dates of those known as made. I have entered one as made in this year for the following reasons;—it broke short because Shāh Beg made incursion into Bābur's territories, and that incursion was followed by a siege of Qandahār which several matters mentioned below show to have taken place in 926 AH.

a. Expedition into Hindūstān.

The march out from Kābul may have been as soon as muster and equipment allowed after the return from Lamghān chronicled in the diary. It was made through Bajaur where refractory tribesmen were brought to order. The Indus will have been forded at the usual place where, until the last one of 932 AH. (1525 AD.), all expeditions crossed on the outward march. Bhīra was traversed in which were Bābur's own Commanders, and advance was made, beyond lands yet occupied, to Sīālkot, 72 miles north of Lāhor and in the Rechna *dū-āb*. It was occupied without resistance; and a further move made to what the MSS. call Sayyidpūr; this attempted defence, was taken by assault and put to the sword. No place named Sayyidpūr is given in the Gazetteer of India, but the *Āyīn-i-akbarī* mentions a Sidhpūr which from its neighbourhood to Sīālkot may be what Bābur took.

Nothing indicates an intention in Bābur to join battle with Ibrāhīm at this time; Lāhor may have been his objective, after he had made a demonstration in force to strengthen his footing in Bhīra. Whatever he may have planned to do beyond Sidhpūr(?) was frustrated by the news which took him back to Kābul and thence to Qandahār, that an incursion into his territory had been made by Shāh Beg.

b. Shāh Shujā' Beg's position.

Shāh Beg was now holding Qandahār, Shāl, Mustang and Sīwistān.¹ He knew that he held Qandahār by uncertain tenure, in face of its desirability for Bābur and his own lesser power. His ground was further weakened by its usefulness for operations on Harāt and the presence with Bābur of Bāi-qarā refugees, ready to seize a chance, if offered by Ismā'il's waning fortunes, for recovery of their former seat. Knowing his weakness, he for several years had been pushing his way out into Sind by way of the Bolān-pass.

His relations with Bābur were ostensibly good; he had sent him envoys twice last year, the first time to announce a success

¹ Shāl (the local name of English Quetta) was taken by Zū'l-nūn in 884 AH. (1479 AD.); Sīwistān Shāh Beg took, in second capture, about 917 AH. (1511 AD.), from a colony of Barlās Turks under Pir Wali *Barlās*.

at Kāhān had in the end of 924 AH. (Nov. 1519 AD.). His son Ḥasan however, with whom he was unreconciled, had been for more than a year in Bābur's company,—a matter not unlikely to stir under-currents of unfriendliness on either side.

His relations with Shāh Ismā'il were deferential, in appearance even vassal-like, as is shewn by Khwānd-amīr's account of his appeal for intervention against Bābur to the Shāh's officers in Harāt. Whether he read the *khutba* for any suzerain is doubtful; his son Ḥasan, it may be said, read it later on for Bābur.

c. The impelling cause of this siege of Qandahār.

Precisely what Shāh Beg did to bring Bābur back from the Panj-āb and down upon Qandahār is not found mentioned by any source. It seems likely to have been an affair of subordinates instigated by or for him. Its immediate agents may have been the Nīkdīrī (Nūkdīrī) and Hazāra tribes Bābur punished on his way south. Their location was the western border-land; they may have descended on the Great North Road or have raided for food in that famine year. It seems certain that Shāh Beg made no serious attempt on Kābul; he was too much occupied in Sind to allow him to do so. Some unused source may throw light on the matter incidentally; the offence may have been small in itself and yet sufficient to determine Bābur to remove risk from his rear.¹

d. Qandahār.

The Qandahār of Bābur's sieges was difficult of capture; he had not taken it in 913 AH. (f. 208b) by siege or assault, but by default after one day's fight in the open. The strength of its position can be judged from the following account of its ruins as they were seen in 1879 AD., the military details of which supplement Bellew's description quoted in Appendix J.

The fortifications are of great extent with a treble line of bastioned walls and a high citadel in the centre. The place is in complete ruin and its locality now useful only as a grazing ground. . . . "The town is in three parts, each on a separate

¹ Was the attack made in reprisal for Shāh Beg's further aggression on the Barlās lands and Bābur's hereditary subjects? Had these appealed to the head of their tribe?

eminence, and capable of mutual defence. The mountain had been covered with towers united by curtains, and the one on the culminating point may be called impregnable. It commanded the citadel which stood lower down on the second eminence, and this in turn commanded the town which was on a table-land elevated above the plain. The triple walls surrounding the city were at a considerable distance from it. After exploring the citadel and ruins, we mounted by the gorge to the summit of the hill with the impregnable fort. In this gorge are the ruins of two tanks, some 80 feet square, all destroyed, with the pillars fallen; the work is *pukka* in brick and *chunām* (cement) and each tank had been domed in; they would have held about 400,000 gallons each." (Le Messurier's *Kandahar in 1879 AD.* pp. 223, 245.)

e. Bābur's sieges of Qandahār.

The term of five years is found associated with Bābur's sieges of Qandahār, sometimes suggesting a single attempt of five years' duration. This it is easy to show incorrect; its root may be Mīr Ma'sūm's erroneous chronology.

The day on which the keys of Qandahār were made over to Bābur is known, from the famous inscription which commemorates the event (Appendix J), as Shawwāl 13th 928 AH. Working backwards from this, it is known that in 927 AH. terms of surrender were made and that Bābur went back to Kābul; he is besieging it in 926 AH.—the year under description; his annals of 925 AH. are complete and contain no siege; the year 924 AH. appears to have had no siege, Shāh Beg was on the Indus and his son was for at least part of it with Bābur; 923 AH. was a year of intended siege, frustrated by Bābur's own illness; of any siege in 922 AH. there is as yet no record known. So that it is certain there was no unremitted beleaguerment through five years.

f. The siege of 926 AH. (1520 AD.).

When Bābur sat down to lay regular siege to Qandahār, with mining and battering of the walls,¹ famine was desolating the

¹ Le Messurier writes (*l.c.* p. 224) that at Old Qandahār "many stone balls lay about, some with a diameter of 18 inches, others of 4 or 5, chiselled out of limestone.

country round. The garrison was reduced to great distress ; "pestilence," ever an ally of Qandahār, broke out within the walls, spread to Bābur's camp, and in the month of Tīr (June) led him to return to Kābul.

In the succeeding months of respite, Shāh Beg pushed on in Sind and his former slave, now commander, Mehtar Saṃbhal revictualled the town.

927 AH.—DEC. 12TH 1520 TO DEC. 1ST 1521 AD.

a. The manuscript sources.

Two accounts of the sieges of Qandahār in this and next year are available, one in Khwānd-amīr's *Ḥabībū's-siyar*, the other in Ma'sūm *Bhakkārī's Tārīkh-i-sind*. As they have important differences, it is necessary to consider the opportunities of their authors for information.

Khwānd-amīr finished his history in 1524-29 AD. His account of these affairs of Qandahār is contemporary ; he was in close touch with several of the actors in them and may have been in Harāt through their course ; one of his patrons, Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn, was put to death in this year in Harāt because of suspicion that he was an ally of Bābur ; his nephew, another Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn was in Qandahār, the bearer next year of its keys to Bābur ; moreover he was with Bābur himself a few years later in Hindūstān.

Mīr Ma'sūm wrote in 1600 AD. 70 to 75 years after Khwānd-amīr. Of these sieges he tells what may have been traditional and mentions no manuscript authorities. Blochmann's biography of him (*Āyīn-i-akbarī* p. 514) shews his ample opportunity of learning orally what had happened in the Arghūn invasion of Sind, but does not mention the opportunity for hearing traditions about Qandahār which his term of office there allowed him. During that term it was that he added an inscription, commemorative of Akbar's dominion, to Bābur's own at Chihil-zīna, which records the date of the capture of Qandahār (928 AH.—1522 AD.).

These were said to have been used in sieges in the times of the Arabs and propelled from a machine called *manjanīq* a sort of balista or catapult." Meantime perhaps they served Bābur !

b. The Ḥabībū's-siyar account (lith. ed. iii, part 4, p. 97).

Khwānd-amīr's contemporary narrative allows Ma'sūm's to dovetail into it as to some matters, but contradicts it in the important ones of date, and mode of surrender by Shāh Beg to Bābur. It states that Bābur was resolved in 926 AH. (1520 AD.) to uproot Shāh Shujā' Beg from Qandahār, led an army against the place, and "opened the Gates of war". It gives no account of the siege of 926 AH. but passes on to the occurrences of 927 AH. (1521 AD.) when Shāh Beg, unable to meet Bābur in the field, shut himself up in the town and strengthened the defences. Bābur put his utmost pressure on the besieged, "often riding his piebald horse close to the moat and urging his men to fiery onset." The garrison resisted manfully, breaching the "life-fortresses" of the Kābulis with sword, arrow, spear and death-dealing stone, but Bābur's heroes were most often victorious, and drove their assailants back through the Gates.

c. Death of Khān Mīrzā reported to Bābur.

Meantime, continues Khwānd-amīr, Khān Mīrzā had died in Badakhshān; the news was brought to Bābur and caused him great grief; he appointed Humāyūn to succeed the Mīrzā while he himself prosecuted the siege of Qandahār and the conquest of the Garm-sīr.¹

d. Negotiations with Bābur.

The Governor of Harāt at this time was Shāh Ismā'il's son Ṭahmāsp, between six and seven years old. His guardian Amīr Khān took chief part in the diplomatic intervention with Bābur, but associated with him was Amīr Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn—the patron of Khwānd-amīr already mentioned—until put to death as an ally of Bābur. The discussion had with Bābur reveals a complexity of motives demanding attention. Nominally undertaken though intervention was on behalf of Shāh Beg, and certainly so at his request, the Persian officers seem to have been less anxious on

¹ "Just then came a letter from Badakhshān saying, 'Mīrzā Khān is dead; Mīrzā Sulaimān (his son) is young; the Aūzbegs are near; take thought for this kingdom lest (which God forbid) Badakhshān should be lost.' Mīrzā Sulaimān's mother (Sulṭān-nigār Khānīm) had brought him to Kābul" (Gul-badan's H. N. f. 8).

his account than for their own position in Khurāsān, their master's position at the time being weakened by ill-success against the Sultān of Rūm. To Bābur, Shāh Beg is written of as though he were an insubordinate vassal whom Bābur was reducing to order for the Shāh, but when Amīr Khān heard that Shāh Beg was hard pressed, he was much distressed because he feared a victorious Bābur might move on Khurāsān. Nothing indicates however that Bābur had Khurāsān in his thoughts; Hindūstān was his objective, and Qandahār a help on the way; but as Amīr Khān had this fear about him, a probable ground for it is provided by the presence with Bābur of Bāi-qarā exiles whose ambition it must have been to recover their former seat. Whether for Harāt, Kābul, or Hindūstān, Qandahār was strength. Another matter not fitting the avowed purpose of the diplomatic intervention is the death of Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn because an ally of Bābur; this makes Amīr Khān seem to count Bābur as Ismā'il's enemy.

Shāh Beg's requests for intervention began in 926 A.H. (1520 A.D.), as also did the remonstrance of the Persian officers with Bābur; his couriers followed one another with entreaty that the Amīrs would contrive for Bābur to retire, with promise of obeisance and of yearly tribute. The Amīrs set forth to Bābur that though Shāh Shujā' Beg had offended and had been deserving of wrath and chastisement, yet, as he was penitent and had promised loyalty and tribute, it was now proper for Bābur to raise the siege (of 926 A.H.) and go back to Kābul. To this Bābur answered that Shāh Beg's promise was a vain thing, on which no reliance could be placed; please God!, said he, he himself would take Qandahār and send Shāh Beg a prisoner to Harāt; and that he should be ready then to give the keys of the town and the possession of the Garm-sīr to any-one appointed to receive them.

This correspondence suits an assumption that Bābur acted for Shāh Ismā'il, a diplomatic assumption merely, the verbal veil, on one side, for anxiety lest Bābur or those with him should attack Harāt,—on the other, for Bābur's resolve to hold Qandahār himself.

Amīr Khān was not satisfied with Bābur's answer, but had his attention distracted by another matter, presumably 'Ubaidu'l-lāh Khān's attack on Harāt in the spring of the year (March–April

1521 AD.). Negotiations appear to have been resumed later, since Khwānd-amīr claims it as their result that Bābur left Qandahār this year.

e. The Tārīkh-i-sind account.

Mīr Ma'sūm is very brief; he says that in this year (his 922 AH.), Bābur went down to Qandahār before the year's tribute in grain had been collected, destroyed the standing crops, encompassed the town, and reduced it to extremity; that Shāh Beg, wearied under reiterated attack and pre-occupied by operations in Sind, proposed terms, and that these were made with stipulation for the town to be his during one year more and then to be given over to Bābur. These terms settled, Bābur went to Kābul, Shāh Beg to Sīwī.

The Arghūn families were removed to Shāl and Sīwī, so that the year's delay may have been an accommodation allowed for this purpose.

f. Concerning dates.

There is much discrepancy between the dates of the two historians. Khwānd-amīr's agree with the few fixed ones of the period and with the course of events; several of Ma'sūm's, on the contrary, are *seriatim* five (lunar) years earlier. For instance, events Khwānd-amīr places under 927 AH. Ma'sūm places under 922 AH. Again, while Ma'sūm correctly gives 913 AH. (1507 AD.) as the year of Bābur's first capture of Qandahār, he sets up a discrepant series later, from the success Shāh Beg had at Kāhān; this he allots to 921 AH. (1515 AD.) whereas Bābur received news of it (f. 233b) in the beginning of 925 AH. (1519 AD.). Again, Ma'sūm makes Shāh Ḥasan go to Bābur in 921 AH. and stay two years; but Ḥasan spent the whole of 925 AH. with Bābur and is not mentioned as having left before the second month of 926 AH. Again, Ma'sūm makes Shāh Beg surrender the keys of Qandahār in 923 AH. (1517 AD.), but 928 AH. (1522 AD.) is shewn by Khwānd-amīr's dates and narrative, and is inscribed at Chihil-zīna.¹

¹ *infra* and Appendix J.

928 AH.—DEC. 1ST 1521 TO NOV. 20TH 1522 AD.

a. Bābur visits Badakhshān.

Either early in this year or late in the previous one, Bābur and Māhīm went to visit Humāyūn in his government, probably to Faizābād, and stayed with him what Gul-badan calls a few days.

b. Expedition to Qandahār.

This year saw the end of the duel for possession of Qandahār. Khwānd-amīr's account of its surrender differs widely from Ma'sūm's. It claims that Bābur's retirement in 927 AH. was due to the remonstrances from Harāt, and that Shāh Beg, worn out by the siege, relied on the arrangement the Amīrs had made with Babūr and went to Sīwī, leaving one 'Abdu'l-bāqī in charge of the place. This man, says Khwānd-amīr, drew the line of obliteration over his duty to his master, sent to Bābur, brought him down to Qandahār, and gave him the keys of the town—by the hand of Khwānd-amīr's nephew Ghiyāṣu'd-dīn, specifies the *Tarkhān-nāma*. In this year messengers had come and gone between Bābur and Harāt; two men employed by Amīr Khān are mentioned by name; of them the last had not returned to Harāt when a courier of Bābur's, bringing a tributary gift, announced there that the town was in his master's hands. Khwānd-amīr thus fixes the year 928 AH. as that in which the town passed into Bābur's hands; this date is confirmed by the one inscribed in the monument of victory at Chihil-zīna which Bābur ordered excavated on the naze of the limestone ridge behind the town. The date there given is Shawwāl 13th 928 AH. (Sep. 6th 1522 AD.).

Ma'sūm's account, dated 923 AH. (1517 AD.), is of the briefest:—Shāh Beg fulfilled his promise, much to Bābur's approval, by sending him the keys of the town and royal residence.

Although Khwānd-amīr's account has good claim to be accepted, it must be admitted that several circumstances can be taken to show that Shah Beg had abandoned Qandahār, *e.g.* the removal of the families after Bābur's retirement last year, and his own absence in a remote part of Sind this year.

c. *The year of Shāh Beg's death.*

Of several variant years assigned for the death of Shāh Beg in the sources, two only need consideration.¹ There is consensus of opinion about the month and close agreement about the day, Sha'bān 22nd or 23rd. Ma'sūm gives a chronogram, *Shahr-Sha'bān*, (month of Sha'bān) which yields 928, but he does not mention where he obtained it, nor does anything in his narrative shew what has fixed the day of the month.

Two objections to 928 are patent: (1) the doubt engendered by Ma'sūm's earlier ante-dating; (2) that if 928 be right, Shāh Beg was already dead over two months when Qandahār was surrendered. This he might have been according to Khwānd-amīr's narrative, but if he died on Sha'bān 22nd 928 (July 26th 1522), there was time for the news to have reached Qandahār, and to have gone on to Harāt before the surrender. Shāh Beg's death at that time could not have failed to be associated in Khwānd-amīr's narrative with the fate of Qandahār; it might have pleaded some excuse with him for 'Abdu'l-bāqī, who might even have had orders from Shāh Ḥasan to make the town over to Bābur whose suzerainty he had acknowledged at once on succession by reading the *khutba* in his name. Khwānd-amīr however does not mention what would have been a salient point in the events of the siege; his silence cannot but weigh against the 928 AH.

The year 930 AH. is given by Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad's *Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī* (lith. ed. p. 637), and this year has been adopted by Erskine, Beale, and Ney Elias, perhaps by others. Some light on the matter may be obtained incidentally as the sources are examined for a complete history of India, perhaps coming from the affairs of Multān, which was attacked by Shāh Ḥasan after communication with Bābur.

d. *Bābur's literary work in 928 AH. and earlier.*

1. The *Mubīn*. This year, as is known from a chronogram within the work, Bābur wrote the Turkī poem of 2000 lines to which Abū'l-faẓl and Badāyūnī give the name *Mubīn* (The

¹ E. & D.'s *History of India*, i. 312.

Exposition), but of which the true title is said by the *Nafā'isu'l-ma'āsir* to be *Dar fiqa mubaiyan* (The Law expounded). Sprenger found it called also *Fiqa-i-bāburī* (Bābur's Law). It is a versified and highly orthodox treatise on Muḥammadan Law, written for the instruction of Kāmran. A Commentary on it, called also *Mubīn*, was written by Shaikh Zain. Bābur quotes from it (f. 351b) when writing of linear measures. Berézine found and published a large portion of it as part of his *Chrestomathie Turque* (Kazan 1857); the same fragment may be what was published by Ilminsky. Teufel remarks that the MS. used by Berézine may have descended direct from one sent by Bābur to a distinguished legist of Transoxiana, because the last words of Berézine's imprint are Bābur's *Begleitschreiben (envoi)*; he adds the expectation that the legist's name might be learned. Perhaps this recipient was the Khwāja Kalān, son of Khwāja Yaḥya, a Samarkandī to whom Bābur sent a copy of his Memoirs on March 7th 1520 (935 AH. f. 363).¹

2. The *Bābur-nāma* diary of 925-6 AH. (1519-20 AD.). This is almost contemporary with the *Mubīn* and is the earliest part of the *Bābur-nāma* writings now known. It was written about a decade earlier than the narrative of 899 to 914 AH. (1494 to 1507 AD.), carries later annotations, and has now the character of a draft awaiting revision.

3. A *Dīwān* (Collection of poems). By dovetailing a few fragments of information, it becomes clear that by 925 AH. (1919 AD.) Bābur had made a Collection of poetical compositions distinct from the Rāmpūr *Dīwān*; it is what he sent to Pūlād Sulṭān in 925 AH. (f. 238). Its date excludes the greater part of the Rāmpūr one. It may have contained those verses to which my husband drew attention in the Asiatic Quarterly Review of 1911, as quoted in the *Abūshqa*; and it may have contained, in agreement with its earlier date, the verses Bābur quotes as written in his earlier years. None of the quatrains found in the *Abūshqa* and there attributed to "Bābur Mīrzā",

¹ For accounts of the *Mubīn*, *Akbar-nāma* Bib. Ind. ed. i. 118, trs. H. Beveridge i. 278 note, Badāyūnī *ib.* i. 343, trs. Ranking p. 450, Sprenger ZDMG. 1862, Teufel *ib.* 1883. The *Akbar-nāma* account appears in Turkī in the "Fragments" associated with Kehr's transcript of the B.N. (JRS. 1908, p. 76, A. S. B.'s art. *Bābur-nāma*. Bābur mentions the *Mubīn* (f. 252b, f. 351b).

are in the Rāmpūr *Dīwān*; nor are several of those early ones of the *Bābur-nāma*. So that the *Dīwān* sent to Pūlād Sulṭān may be the source from which the *Abūshqa* drew its examples.

On first examining these verses, doubt arose as to whether they were really by Bābur *Mīrānshāhī*; or whether they were by "Bābur Mīrzā" *Shāhrukhī*. Fortunately my husband lighted on one of them quoted in the *Sanglakh* and there attributed to Bābur Pādshāh. The *Abūshqa* quatrains are used as examples in de Courteille's *Dictionary*, but without an author's name; they can be traced there through my husband's articles.¹

929 AH.—NOV. 20TH 1522 TO NOV. 10TH 1523 AD.

a. Affairs of Hindūstān.

The centre of interest in Bābur's affairs now moves from Qandahār to a Hindūstān torn by faction, of which faction one result was an appeal made at this time to Bābur by Daulat Khān *Lūdī* (*Yūsuf-khail*) and 'Alāu'd-dīn 'Ālam Khān *Lūdī* for help against Ibrāhīm.²

The following details are taken mostly from Aḥmad Yādgār's *Tārīkh-i-salāṭīn-i-afghāna*³:—Daulat Khān had been summoned to Ibrāhīm's presence; he had been afraid to go and had sent his son Dilāwar in his place; his disobedience angering Ibrāhīm, Dilāwar had a bad reception and was shewn a ghastly exhibit of disobedient commanders. Fearing a like fate for himself, he made escape and hastened to report matters to his father in Lāhor. His information strengthening Daulat Khān's previous apprehensions, decided the latter to proffer allegiance to Bābur and to ask his help against Ibrāhīm. Apparently 'Ālam Khān's interests were a part of this request. Accordingly Dilāwar (or Apāq) Khān went to Kābul, charged with his father's message, and with intent to make known to Bābur Ibrāhīm's

¹ JRAS. 1901, *Persian MSS. in Indian Libraries* (description of the Rāmpūr *Dīwān*); AQR. 1911, *Bābur's Dīwān* (i.e. the Rāmpūr *Dīwān*); and *Some verses of the Emperor Bābur* (the *Abūshqa* quotations).

For Dr. E. D. Ross' Reproduction and account of the Rāmpūr *Dīwān*, JASB. 1910.

² "After him (Ibrāhīm) was Bābur King of Dihlī, who owed his place to the Pathāns," writes the Afghān poet Khūsh-hāl *Khattak* (Afghān Poets of the XVII century, C. E. Biddulph, p. 58).

³ The translation only has been available (E. & D.'s H. of I., vol. I.).

evil disposition, his cruelty and tyranny, with their fruit of discontent amongst his Commanders and soldiery.

b. Reception of Dilāwar Khān in Kābul.

Wedding festivities were in progress¹ when Dilāwar Khān reached Kābul. He presented himself, at the Chār-bāgh may be inferred, and had word taken to Bābur that an Afghan was at his Gate with a petition. When admitted, he demeaned himself as a suppliant and proceeded to set forth the distress of Hindūstān. Bābur asked why he, whose family had so long eaten the salt of the Lūdīs, had so suddenly deserted them for himself. Dilāwar answered that his family through 40 years had upheld the Lūdī throne, but that Ibrāhīm maltreated Sikandar's amīrs, had killed 25 of them without cause, some by hanging, some burned alive, and that there was no hope of safety in him. Therefore, he said, he had been sent by many amīrs to Bābur whom they were ready to obey and for whose coming they were on the anxious watch.

c. Bābur asks a sign.

At the dawn of the day following the feast, Bābur prayed in the garden for a sign of victory in Hindūstān, asking that it should be a gift to himself of mango or betel, fruits of that land. It so happened that Daulat Khān had sent him, as a present, half-ripened mangoes preserved in honey ; when these were set before him, he accepted them as the sign, and from that time forth, says the chronicler, made preparation for a move on Hindūstān.

d. 'Ālam Khān.

Although 'Ālam Khān seems to have had some amount of support for his attempt against his nephew, events show he had none valid for his purpose. That he had not Daulat Khān's, later occurrences make clear. Moreover he seems not to have been a man to win adherence or to be accepted as a trustworthy and sensible leader.² Dates are uncertain in the absence of

¹ The marriage is said to have been Kāmran's (E. & D.'s trs.).

² Erskine calculated that 'Ālam Khān was now well over 70 years of age (H. of I. i, 421 n.).

Bābur's narrative, but it may have been in this year that 'Ālam Khān went in person to Kābul and there was promised help against Ibrāhīm.

c. Birth of Gul-badan.

Either in this year or the next was born Dil-dār's third daughter Gul-badan, the later author of an *Humāyūn-nāma* written at her nephew Akbar's command in order to provide information for the *Akbar-nāma*.

930 AH.—NOV. 10TH 1523 TO OCT. 29TH 1524 AD.

a. Bābur's fourth expedition to Hindūstān.

This expedition differs from all earlier ones by its co-operation with Afghān malcontents against Ibrāhīm *Lūdī*, and by having for its declared purpose direct attack on him through reinforcement of 'Ālam Khān.

Exactly when the start from Kābul was made is not found stated; the route taken after fording the Indus, was by the sub-montane road through the Kakar country; the Jihlam and Chīn-āb were crossed and a move was made to within 10 miles of Lāhor.

Lāhor was Daulat Khān's head-quarters but he was not in it now; he had fled for refuge to a colony of Bīlūchīs, perhaps towards Multān, on the approach against him of an army of Ibrāhīm's under Bihār Khān *Lūdī*. A battle ensued between Bābur and Bihār Khān; the latter was defeated with great slaughter; Bābur's troops followed his fugitive men into Lāhor, plundered the town and burned some of the *bāzārs*.

Four days were spent near Lāhor, then move south was made to Dībālpūr which was stormed, plundered and put to the sword. The date of this capture is known from an incidental remark of Bābur about chronograms (f. 325), to be mid-Rabī'u'l-awwal 930 AH. (*circa* Jan. 22nd 1524 AD.).¹ From Dībālpūr a start was made for Sihrind but before this could be reached news arrived which dictated return to Lāhor.

¹ A. N. trs. H. Beveridge, i, 239.

b. The cause of return.

Daulat Khān's action is the obvious cause of the retirement. He and his sons had not joined Bābur until the latter was at Dibālpūr; he was not restored to his former place in charge of the important Lāhor, but was given Jalandhar and Sulṭānpūr, a town of his own foundation. This angered him extremely but he seems to have concealed his feelings for the time and to have given Bābur counsel as if he were content. His son Dilāwar, however, represented to Bābur that his father's advice was treacherous; it concerned a move to Multān, from which place Daulat Khān may have come up to Dibālpūr and connected with which at this time, something is recorded of co-operation by Bābur and Shāh Ḥasan *Arghūn*. But the incident is not yet found clearly described by a source. Dilāwar Khān told Bābur that his father's object was to divide and thus weaken the invading force, and as this would have been the result of taking Daulat Khān's advice, Bābur arrested him and Apāq on suspicion of treacherous intent. They were soon released, and Sulṭānpūr was given them, but they fled to the hills, there to await a chance to swoop on the Panj-āb. Daulat Khān's hostility and his non-fulfilment of his engagement with Bābur placing danger in the rear of an eastward advance, the Panj-āb was garrisoned by Bābur's own followers and he himself went back to Kābul.

It is evident from what followed that Daulat Khān commanded much strength in the Panj-āb; evident also that something counselled delay in the attack on Ibrāhīm, perhaps closer cohesion in favour of 'Ālam Khān, certainly removal of the menace of Daulat Khān in the rear; there may have been news already of the approach of the Aūzbegs on Balkh which took Bābur next year across Hindū-kush.

c. The Panj-āb garrison.

The expedition had extended Bābur's command considerably, notably by obtaining possession of Lāhor. He now posted in it Mir 'Abdu'l-'azīz his Master of the Horse; in Dibālpūr he posted, with 'Ālam Khān, Bābā Qashqa *Mughūl*; in Siālkot, Khusrau Kūkūldāsh, in Kalanūr, Muḥammad 'Alī *Tājik*.

d. Two deaths.

This year, on Rajab 19th (May 23rd) died Ismā'il Ṣafawī at the age of 38, broken by defeat from Sulṭān Salīm of Rūm.¹ He was succeeded by his son Ṭahmāsp, a child of ten.

This year may be that of the death of Shāh Shujā' *Arghūn*,² on Sha'bān 22nd (July 18th), the last grief of his burden being the death of his foster-brother Fāzil concerning which, as well as Shāh Beg's own death, Mīr Ma'sūm's account is worthy of full reproduction. Shāh Beg was succeeded in Sind by his son Ḥasan, who read the *khutba* for Bābur and drew closer links with Bābur's circle by marrying, either this year or the next, Khalifa's daughter Gul-barg, with whom betrothal had been made during Ḥasan's visit to Bābur in Kābul. Moreover Khalifa's son Muḥibb-i-'alī married Nāhīd the daughter of Qāsim Kūkūldāsh and Māh-chūchūk *Arghūn* (f. 214b). These alliances were made, says Ma'sūm, to strengthen Ḥasan's position at Bābur's Court.

e. A garden detail.

In this year and presumably on his return from the Panj-āb, Bābur, as he himself chronicles (f. 132), had plantains (bananas) brought from Hindūstān for the Bāgh-i-wafā at Adīnapūr.

931 AH.—OCT. 29TH 1524 TO OCT. 18TH 1525 AD.

a. Daulat Khān.

Daulat Khān's power in the Panj-āb is shewn by what he effected after dispossessed of Lāhor. On Bābur's return to Kābul, he came down from the hills with a small body of his immediate followers, seized his son Dilāwar, took Sulṭānpūr, gathered a large force and defeated 'Ālam Khān in Dībālpūr. He detached 5000 men against Sīālkot but Babur's begs of Lāhor attacked and overcame them. Ibrāhīm sent an army to reconquer the Panj-āb ;

¹ The following old English reference to Isma'il's appearance may be quoted as found in a corner somewhat out-of-the-way from Oriental matters. In his essay on beauty Lord Bacon writes when arguing against the theory that beauty is usually not associated with highmindedness, "But this holds not always ; for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Isma'il the Sophy (Ṣafawī) of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times."

² Cf. s.a. 928 AH. for discussion of the year of death.

Daulat Khān, profiting by its dissensions and discontents, won over a part to himself and saw the rest break up.

b. 'Ālam Khān.

From his reverse at Dībālpūr, 'Ālam Khān fled straight to Kābul. The further help he asked was promised under the condition that while he should take Ibrāhīm's place on the throne of Dihlī, Bābur in full suzerainty should hold Lāhor and all to the west of it. This arranged, 'Ālam Khān was furnished with a body of troops, given a royal letter to the Lāhor begs ordering them to assist him, and started off, Bābur promising to follow swiftly.

'Ālam Khān's subsequent proceedings are told by Bābur in the annals of 932 AH. (1525 AD.) at the time he received details about them (f. 255b).

c. Bābur called to Balkh.

All we have yet found about this affair is what Bābur says in explanation of his failure to follow 'Ālam Khān as promised (f. 256), namely, that he had to go to Balkh because all the Aūzbeg Sulṭāns and Khāns had laid siege to it. Light on the affair may come from some Persian or Aūzbeg chronicle; Bābur's arrival raised the siege; and risk must have been removed, for Bābur returned to Kābul in time to set out for his fifth and last expedition to Hindūstān on the first day of the second month of next year (932 AH. 1525). A considerable body of troops was in Badakhshān with Humāyūn; their non-arrival next year delaying his father's progress, brought blame on himself.

[APPENDICES TO THE KĀBUL SECTION.]

E.—NAGARAHĀR AND NĪNG-NAHĀR.

THOSE who consult books and maps about the riverain tract between the Safed-koh (Spīn-ghur) and (Anglicé) the Kābul-river find its name in several forms, the most common being Nangrahār and Nangnahār (with variant vowels). It would be useful to establish a European book-name for the district. As European opinion differs about the origin and meaning of the names now in use, and as a good deal of interesting circumstance gathers round the small problem of a correct form (there may be two), I offer about the matter what has come into the restricted field of my own work, premising that I do this merely as one who drops a casual pebble on the cairn of observation already long rising for scholarly examination.

a. The origin and meaning of the names.

I have met with three opinions about the origin and meaning of the names found now and earlier. To each one of them obvious objection can be made. They are :—

1. That all forms now in use are corruptions of the Sanscrit word Nagarahāra, the name of the Town-of-towns which in the *dū-āb* of the Bārān-sū and Sūrkh-rūd left the ruins Masson describes in Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*. But if this is so, why is the Town-of-towns multiplied into the nine of Na-nagrahār (Nangrahār) ? ¹

2. That the names found represent Sanscrit *nawā vihāra*, nine monasteries, an opinion the Gazetteer of India of 1907 has

¹ Another but less obvious objection will be mentioned later.

adopted from Bellew. But why precisely nine monasteries? Nine appears an understatement.

3. That Nang (Ning or Nung) -nahār verbally means nine streams, (Bābur's Tūqūz-rūd,) an interpretation of long standing (Section *b* *infra*). But whence *nang*, *ning*, *nung*, for nine? Such forms are not in Persian, Turkī or Pushtu dictionaries, and, as Sir G. A. Grierson assures me, do not come into the Linguistic Survey.

b. On nang, ning, nung for nine.

Spite of their absence from the natural homes of words, however, the above sounds have been heard and recorded as symbols of the number nine by careful men through a long space of time.

The following instances of the use of "Nangnahār" show this, and also show that behind the variant forms there may be not a single word but two of distinct origin and sense.

1. In Chinese annals two names appear as those of the district and town (I am not able to allocate their application with certainty). The first is Na-kie-lo-ho-lo, the second Nang-g-lo-ho-lo and these, I understand to represent Nagarahāra and Nang-nahār, due allowance being made for Chinese idiosyncrasy.¹

2. Some 900 years later (1527-30 AD.) Bābur also gives two names, Nagarahār (as the book-name of his *tūmān*) and Nīng-nahār.² He says the first is found in several histories (B.N. f. 131*b*); the second will have been what he heard and also presumably what appeared in revenue accounts; of it he says, "it is nine torrents" (*tūqūz-rūd*).

3. Some 300 years after Bābur, Elphinstone gives two

¹ Julien notes (*Voyages des pèlerins Bouddhistes*, ii, 96), "Dans les annales des Song on trouve Nang-go-lo-ho, qui répond exactement à l'orthographe indienne Nagarahāra, que fournit l'inscription découverte par le capitaine Kittoe" (JASB. 1848). The reference is to the Ghoswāra inscription, of which Professor Kielhorn has also written (*Indian Antiquary*, 1888), but with departure from Nagarahāra to Nagarhāra.

² The scribe of the Haidarābād Codex appears to have been somewhat uncertain as to the spelling of the name. What is found in histories is plain, N:g:r:hār. The other name varies; on first appearance (fol. 131*b*) and also on fols. 144 and 154*b*, there is a vagrant dot below the word, which if it were above would make Nīng-nahār. In all other cases the word reads N:g:nahār. Nahār is a constant component, as is also the letter *g* (or *h*).

names for the district, neither of them being Bābur's book-name, "Nangrahaur¹ or Nungnahaur, from the nine streams which issue from the Safed-koh, *nung* in Pushtoo signifying *nine*, and *nahaura*, a stream" (*Caulul*, i, 160).

4. In 1881 Colonel H. S. Tanner had heard, in Nūr-valley on the north side of the Kābul-water, that the name of the opposite district was Ning-nahār and its meaning Nine-streams. He did not get a list of the nine and all he heard named do not flow from Safed-koh.

5. In 1884 Colonel H. G. McGregor gives two names with their explanation, "Ningrahar and Nungnihar; the former is a corruption of the latter word² which in the Afghān language signifies nine rivers or rivulets." He names nine, but of them six only issue from Safed-koh.

6. I have come across the following instances in which the number nine is represented by other words than *na* (*ni* or *nu*); *vis.* the *nenhan* of the Chitrālī Kāfir and the *noun* of the Panj-ābi, recorded by Leech,—the *nyon* of the Khowārī and the *huncha* of the Boorishki, recorded by Colonel Biddulph.

The above instances allow opinion that in the region concerned and through a long period of time, nine has been expressed by *nang* (*ning* or *nung*) and other nasal or high palatal sounds, side by side with *na* (*ni* or *nu*). The whole matter may be one of nasal utterance,³ but since a large number of tribesmen express nine by a word containing a nasal sound, should that word not find place in lists of recognized symbols of sounds?

c. Are there two names of distinct origin?

1. Certainly it makes a well-connected story of decay in the Sanscrit word Nagarahāra to suppose that tribesmen, prone by their organism to nasal utterance, pronounced that word

¹ Some writers express the view that the medial *r* in this word indicates descent from Nagarahāra, and that the medial *n* of Elphinstone's second form is a corruption of it. Though this might be, it is true also that in local speech *r* and *n* often interchange, e.g. Chighār- and Chighān-sarāi, Sūhār and Sūhān (in Nūr-valley).

² This asserts *n* to be the correct consonant, and connects with the interchange of *n* and *r* already noted.

³ Since writing the above I have seen Laidlaw's almost identical suggestion of a nasal interpolated in Nagarahāra (JASB. 1848, art. on Kittloe). The change is of course found elsewhere; is not Tānk for Tāq an instance?

Nangrahār, and by force of their numbers made this corruption current,—that this was recognized as the name of the town while the Town-of-towns was great or in men's memory, and that when through the decay of the town its name became a meaningless husk, the wrong meaning of the Nine-streams should enter into possession.

But as another and better one can be put together, this fair-seeming story may be baseless. Its substitute has the advantage of explaining the double sequence of names shown in Section *δ*.

The second story makes all the variant names represent one or other of two distinct originals. It leaves Nagrahār to represent Nagarahāra, the dead town; it makes the nine torrents of Safed-koh the primeval sponsors of Nīng-nahār, the name of the riverain tract. Both names, it makes contemporary in the relatively brief interlude of the life of the town. For the fertilizing streams will have been the dominant factors of settlement and of revenue from the earliest times of population and government. They arrest the eye where they and their ribbons of cultivation space the riverain waste; they are obvious units for grouping into a sub-government. Their name has a counterpart in adjacent Panj-āb; the two may have been given by one dominant power, how long ago, in what tongue matters not. The riverain tract, by virtue of its place on a highway of transit, must have been inhabited long before the town Nagarahāra was built, and must have been known by a name. What better one than Nine-streams can be thought of?

2. Bellew is quoted by the Gazetteer of India (ed. 1907) as saying, in his argument in favour of *nawā vihāra*, that no nine streams are found to stand sponsor, but modern maps shew nine outflows from Safed-koh to the Kābul-river between the Sūrkh-rūd and Daka, while if affluents to the former stream be reckoned, more than nine issue from the range.¹

Against Bellew's view that there are not nine streams, is the long persistence of the number nine in the popular name (Sect. *δ*).

¹ These affluents I omit from main consideration as sponsors because they are less obvious units of taxable land than the direct affluents of the Kābul-river, but they remain a reserve force of argument and may or may not have counted in Bābur's nine.

It is also against his view that he supposes there were nine monasteries, because each of the nine must have had its fertilizing water.

Bābur says there were nine ; there must have been nine of significance ; he knew his *tūmān* not only by frequent transit but by his revenue accounts. A supporting point in those accounts is likely to have been that the individual names of the villages on the nine streams would appear, with each its payment of revenue.

3. In this also is some weight of circumstance against taking Nagarahāra to be the parent of Nīng-nahār :—An earlier name of the town is said to be Udyānapūra, Garden town.¹ Of this Bābur's Adīnapūr is held to be a corruption ; the same meaning of garden has survived on approximately the same ground in Bālā-bāgh and Roṣābād.

Nagarahāra is seen, therefore, to be a parenthetical name between others which are all derived from gardens. It may shew the promotion of a "Garden-town" to a "Chief-town". If it did this, there was relapse of name when the Chief-town lost status. Was it ever applied beyond the delta ? If it were, would it, when dead in the delta, persist along the riverain tract ? If it were not, *cadit quæstio* ; the suggestion of two names distinct in origin, is upheld.

Certainly the riverain tract would fall naturally under the government of any town flourishing in the delta, the richest and most populous part of the region. But for this very reason it must have had a name older than parenthetical Nagarahāra. That inevitable name would be appropriately Nīng-nahār (or Na-nahār) Nine-streams ; and for a period Nagarahāra would be the Chief-town of the district of Na-nahār (Nine-streams).²

d. Bābur's statements about the name.

What the cautious Bābur says of his *tūmān* of Nīng-nahār has weight :—

1. That some histories write it Nagarahār (Ḥaidarābād Codex, f. 131 b) ;

¹ Cunningham, i, 42. My topic does not reach across the Kābul-river to the greater Udyānapūra of Beal's *Buddhist Records* (p. 119) nor raise the question of the extent of that place.

² The strong form Nīng-nahār is due to euphonic impulse.

2. That Nīng-nahār is nine torrents, *i.e.* mountain streams, *tūqūz-rūd* ;
3. That (the) nine torrents issue from Safed-koh (f. 132 b).

Of his first statement can be said, that he will have seen the book-name in histories he read, but will have heard Nīng-nahār, probably also have seen it in current letters and accounts.

Of his second,—that it bears and may be meant to bear two senses, (a) that the *tūmān* consisted of nine torrents,—their lands implied ; just as he says “Asfara is four *būlūks*” (subdivisions f. 3b)—(b) that *tūqūz rūd* translates *nīng-nahār*.

Of his third,—that in English its sense varies as it is read with or without the definite article Turkī rarely writes, but that either sense helps out his first and second, to mean that verbally and by its constituent units Nīng-nahār is nine-torrents ; as verbally and by its constituents Panj-āb is five-waters.

e. Last words.

Detailed work on the Kābul section of the *Bābur-nāma* has stamped two impressions so deeply on me, that they claim mention, not as novel or as special to myself, but as set by the work.

The first is of extreme risk in swift decision on any problem of words arising in North Afghānistān, because of its local concourse of tongues, the varied utterance of its unlettered tribes resident or nomad, and the frequent translation of proper names in obedience to their verbal meanings. Names lie there too in *strata*, relics of successive occupation—Greek, Turkī, Hindi, Pushtū and tribes *galore*.

The second is that the region is an exceptionally fruitful field for first-hand observation of speech, the movent ocean of the uttered word, free of the desiccated symbolism of alphabets and books.

The following books, amongst others, have prompted the above note :—

Ghoswāra Inscription, Kittoe, JASB., 1848, and Kielhorn,
Indian Antiquary, 1888, p. 311.

H. Sastrī's *Rāmacārīta*, Introduction, p. 7 (ASB. Memoirs).

Cunningham's *Ancient India*, vol. i.

Beal's *Buddhist Records*, i, xxxiv, and cii, 91.

Leech's Vocabularies, JASB., 1838.

The writings of Masson (*Travels and Ariana Antiqua*), Wood, Vigne, etc.

Raverty's *Ṭabaqāt-i-nāsirī*.

Jarrett's *Āyīn-i-akbarī*.

P.R.G.S. for maps, 1879; Macnair on the Kafirs, 1884; Tanner's *On the Chugānī and neighbouring tribes of Kāfiristān*, 1881.

Simpson's *Nagarahāra*, JASB., xiii.

Biddulph's *Dialects of the Hindū-kush*, JRAS.

Gazette of India, 1907, art. Jalalābād.

Bellew's *Races of Afghānistān*.

F.—ON THE NAME DARA-I-NŪR.

SOME European writers have understood the name Dara-i-nūr to mean Valley of light, but natural features and also the artificial one mentioned by Colonel H. G. Tanner (*infra*), make it better to read the component *nūr*, not as Persian *nūr*, light, but as Pushtū *nūr*, rock. Hence it translates as Valley of Rocks, or Rock-valley. The region in which the valley lies is rocky and boulder-strewn; its own waters flow to the Kābul-river east of the water of Chitrāl. It shews other names composed with *nūr*, in which *nūr* suits if it means rock, but is inexplicable if it means light, e.g. Nūr-lām (Nūr-fort), the master-fort in the mouth of Nūr-valley, standing high on a rock between two streams, as Bābur and Tanner have both described it from eye-witness,—Nūr-gal (village), a little to the north-west of the valley,—Aūlūgh-nūr (great rock), at a crossing mentioned by Bābur, higher up the Bārān-water,—and Koh-i-nūr (Rocky-mountains),

which there is ground for taking as the correct form of the familiar "Kunar" of some European writers (*Raverty's Notes*, p. 106). The dominant feature in these places dictates reading *nūr* as rock ; so too the work done in Nūr-valley with boulders, of which Colonel H. G. Tanner's interesting account is subjoined (P.R.G.S. 1881, p. 284).

"Some 10 miles from the source of the main stream of the Nur-valley the Dameneh stream enters, but the waters of the two never meet ; they flow side by side about three-quarters of a mile apart for about 12 miles and empty themselves into the Kunar river by different mouths, each torrent hugging closely the foot of the hills at its own side of the valley. Now, except in countries where terracing has been practised continuously for thousands of years, such unnatural topography as exists in the valley of Nur is next to impossible. The forces which were sufficient to scoop out the valley in the first instance, would have kept a water-way at the lowest part, into which would have poured the drainage of the surrounding mountains ; but in the Nur-valley long-continued terracing has gradually raised the centre of the valley high above the edges. The population has increased to its maximum limit and every available inch of ground is required for cultivation ; the people, by means of terrace-walls built of ponderous boulders in the bed of the original single stream, have little by little pushed the waters out of their true course, until they run, where now found, in deep rocky cuttings at the foot of the hills on either side" (p. 280).

"I should like to go on and say a good deal more about boulders ; and while I am about it I may as well mention one that lies back from a hamlet in Shulut, which is so big that a house is built in a fault or crack running across its face. Another pebble lies athwart the village and covers the whole of the houses from that side."

G.—ON THE NAMES OF TWO DARA-I-NŪR WINES.

FROM the two names, Arat-tāshī and Sūhān (Suhār) -tāshī, which Bābur gives as those of two wines of the Dara-i-nūr, it can be inferred that he read *nūr* to mean rock. For if in them Turkī *tāsh*, rock, be replaced by Pushtū *nūr*, rock, two place-names emerge, Arat (-nūrī) and Sūhān (-nūrī), known in the Nūr-valley.

These may be villages where the wines were grown, but it would be quite exceptional for Bābur to say that wines are called from their villages, or indeed by any name. He says here not where they grow but what they are called.

I surmise that he is repeating a joke, perhaps his own, perhaps a standing local one, made on the quality of the wines. For whether with *tāsh* or with *nūr* (rock), the names can be translated as Rock-saw and Rock-file, and may refer to the rough and acid quality of the wines, rasping and setting the teeth on edge as does iron on stone.

The villages themselves may owe their names to a serrated edge or splintered pinnacle of weathered granite, in which local people, known as good craftsmen, have seen resemblance to tools of their trade.

H.—ON THE COUNTERMARK BIH BŪD ON COINS.

AS coins of Sl. Ḥusain Mirzā *Bāi-qarā* and other rulers do actually bear the words *Bih būd*, Bābur's statement that the

name of Bihbūd Beg was on the Mīrzā's coins acquires a numismatic interest which may make serviceable the following particulars concerning the passage and the beg.¹

a. *The Turkī passage* (Elph. MS. f. 135b; Ḥaidarābād Codex f. 173b; Ilminsky p. 217).

For ease of reference the Turkī, Persian and English version are subjoined :—

(1) *Yana Bihbūd Beg aīdī. Būrūnlār chuhra-jirga-sī-dā khidmat qīlūr aīdī. Mīrzā-nīng qāsāqlīqlārīdā khidmatī bāqīb Bihbūd Beg-kā bū 'ināyatnī qīlīb aīdī kīm tamghā u sikka-dā ānīng ātī aīdī.*

(2) The Persian translation of 'Abdu'r-raḥīm (Muḥ. Shīrāzī's lith. ed. p. 110) :—

Dīgar Bihbūd Beg būd. Auwalhā dar jirga-i-chuhrqā khidmat mikard. Chūn dar qāsāqīhā Mīrsūrā khidmat karda būd u ānrā mulāḥaẓa namūda, ānrā 'ināyat karda būd kah dar tamghānāt sikka² nām-i-au būd.

(3) A literal English translation of the Turkī :—

Another was Bihbūd Beg. He served formerly in the *chuhra-jirga-sī* (corps of braves). Looking to his service in the Mīrzā's guerilla-times, the favour had been done to Bihbūd Beg that his name was on the stamp and coin.³

b. *Of Bihbūd Beg.*

We have found little so far to add to what Bābur tells of Bihbūd Beg and what he tells we have not found elsewhere. The likely sources of his information are Daulat Shāh and Khwānd-amīr who have written at length of Ḥusain Bāī-qarā. Considerable search in the books of both men has failed to discover mention of signal service or public honour connected with the beg. Bābur may have heard what he tells in Harāt in 912 AH. (1506 AD.) when he would see Ḥusain's coins

¹ Some discussion about these coins has already appeared in JRAS. 1913 and 1914 from Dr. Codrington, Mr. M. Longworth Dames and my husband.

² This variant from the Turkī may be significant. Should *tamghānāt(-i)-sikka* be read and does this describe countermarking?

³ It will be observed that Bābur does not explicitly say that Ḥusain put the beg's name on the coin.

presumably ; but later opportunity to see them must have been frequent during his campaigns and visits north of Hindū-kush, notably in Balkh.

The sole mention we have found of Bihbūd Beg in the *Ḥabībū's-siyar* is that he was one of Ḥusain's commanders at the battle of Chikmān-sarāi which was fought with Sl. Maḥmūd Mīrzā *Mīrūnshāhī* in Muḥarram 876 AH. (June–July 1471 AD.).¹ His place in the list shews him to have had importance. "Amīr Niẓāmu'd-dīn 'Alī-sher's brother Darwesh-i-'alī the librarian (*q.v.* Hai. Codex Index), and Amīr Bihbūd, and Muḥ. 'Alī *ātāka*, and Bakhshika, and Shāh Walī *Qīpchāq*, and Dost-i-muḥammad *chuhra*, and Amīr Qul-i-'alī, and" (another).

The total of our information about the man is therefore :—

(1) That when Ḥusain² from 861 to 873 AH. (1457 to 1469 AD.) was fighting his way up to the throne of Harāt, Bihbūd served him well in the corps of braves, (as many others will have done).

(2) That he was a beg and one of Ḥusain's commanders in 876 AH. (1471 AD.).

(3) That Bābur includes him amongst Ḥusain's begs and says of him what has been quoted, doing this *circa* 934 AH. (1528 AD.), some 56 years after Khwānd-amīr's mention of him *s.a.* 876 AH. (1471 AD.).

c. Of the term chuhra-jirga-sī used by Bābur.

Of this term Bābur supplies an explicit explanation which I have not found in European writings. His own book amply exemplifies his explanation, as do also Khwānd-amīr's and Ḥaidar's.

He gives the explanation (f. 156) when describing a retainer of his father's who afterwards became one of his own begs. It is as follows :—

"'Alī-darwesh of Khurāsān served in the Khurāsān *chuhra-jirga-sī*, one of two special corps (*khāṣa tābīn*) of serviceable braves (*yārār yīgītlār*) formed by Sl. Abū-sa'īd Mīrzā when

¹ *Ḥabībū's-siyar* lith. ed. iii, 228 ; *Ḥaidarūbād* Codex text and trs. f. 266 and f. 169 ; Browne's *Daulat Shāh* p. 533.

² Ḥusain born 842 AH. (1438 AD.) ; d. 911 AH. (1506 AD.).

he first began to arrange the government of Khurāsān and Samarkand and, presumably, called by him the Khurāsān corps and the Samarkand corps."

This shews the circle to have consisted of fighting-men, such serviceable braves as are frequently mentioned by Bābur; and his words "*yārār yīgīt*" make it safe to say that if instead of using a Persian phrase, he had used a Turkī one, *yīgīt*, brave would have replaced *chuhra*, "young soldier" (Erskine). A considerable number of men on active service are styled *chuhra*, one at least is styled *yīgīt*, in the same way as others are styled *beg*.¹

Three military circles are mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, consisting respectively of braves, household begs (under Bābur's own command), and great begs. Some men are mentioned who never rose from the rank of brave (*yīgīt*), some who became household-begs, some who went through the three grades.

Of the corps of braves Bābur conveys the information that Abū-sa'īd founded it at a date which will have lain between 1451 and 1457 AD.; that 'Umar Shaikh's man 'Alī-darwesh belonged to it; and that Ḥusain's man Bihbūd did so also. Both men, 'Alī-darwesh and Bihbūd, when in its circle, would appropriately be styled *chuhra* as men of the beg-circle were styled beg; the Dost-i-muḥammad *chuhra* who was a commander, (he will have had a brave's command,) at Chikmān-sarāi (see list *supra*) will also have been of this circle. Instances of the use by Bābur of the name *khaṣa-tābīn* and its equivalent *būz-tākinī* are shewn on f. 209 and f. 210b. A considerable number of Bābur's fighting men, the braves he so frequently mentions as sent on service, are styled *chuhra* and inferentially belong to the same circle.²

¹ Cf. f. 7b note to braves (*yīgītlār*). There may be instances, in the earlier Farghāna section where I have translated *chuhra* wrongly by *page*. My attention had not then been fixed on the passage about the coins, nor had I the same familiarity with the Kābul section. For a household page to be clearly recognizable as such from the context, is rare—other uses of the word are translated as their context dictates.

² They can be traced through my Index and in some cases their careers followed. Since I translated *chuhra-jirga-sī* on f. 15b by cadet-corps, I have found in the Kābul section instances of long service in the corps which make the word cadet, as it is used in English, too young a name.

d. Of Bih būd on Ḥusain Bāī-qarā's coins.

So far it does not seem safe to accept Bābur's statement literally. He may tell a half-truth and obscure the rest by his brevity.

Nothing in the sources shows ground for signal and public honour to Bihbūd Beg, but a good deal would allow surmise that jesting allusion to his name might decide for *Bih būd* as a coin mark when choice had to be made of one, in the flush of success, in an assembly of the begs, and, amongst those begs, lovers of word-play and enigma.

The personal name is found written Bihbūd, as one word and with medial *h*; the mark is *Bih būd* with the terminal *h* in the *Bih*. There have been discussions moreover as to whether to read on the coins *Bih būd*, it was good, or *Bih buvad*, let it be, or become, good (valid for currency?).

The question presents itself; would the beg's name have appeared on the coins, if it had not coincided in form with a suitable coin-mark?

Against literal acceptance of Bābur's statement there is also doubt of a thing at once so *ben trovato* and so unsupported by evidence.

Another doubt arises from finding *Bih būd* on coins of other rulers, one of Iskandar Khān's being of a later date,¹ others, of Tīmūr, Shāhrukh and Abū-sa'īd, with nothing to shew who counterstruck it on them.

On some of Ḥusain's coins the sentence *Bih būd* appears as part of the legend and not as a counterstrike. This is a good basis for finding a half-truth in Bābur's statement. It does not allow of a whole-truth in his statement because, as it is written, it is a coin-mark, not a name.

An interesting matter as bearing on Ḥusain's use of *Bih būd* is that in 865 A.H. (1461 A.D.) he had an incomparable horse named Bihbūd, one he gave in return for a falcon on making peace with Mustapha Khān.²

¹ This Mr. M. Longworth Dames pointed out in JRAS. 1913.

² *Ḥabībū's-siyar* lith. ed. iii, 219; Ferté trs. p. 28. For the information about Ḥusain's coins given in this appendix I am indebted to Dr. Codrington and Mr. M. Longworth Dames.

e. Of Bābur's vassal-coinage.

The following historical details narrow the field of numismatic observation on coins believed struck by Bābur as a vassal of Ismā'il *Ṣafawī*. They are offered because not readily accessible.

The length of Bābur's second term of rule in Transoxiana was not the three solar years of the B.M. Coin Catalogues but did not exceed eight months. He entered Samarkand in the middle of Rajab 917 AH. (c. Oct. 1st, 1511 AD.). He returned to it defeated and fled at once, after the battle of Kūl-i-malik which was fought in Ṣafar 918 AH. (mid-April to mid-May 1512 AD.). Previous to the entry he was in the field, without a fixed base; after his flight he was landless till at the end both of 920 AH. and of 1514 AD. he had returned to Kābul.

He would not find a full Treasury in Samarkand because the Aūzbegs evacuated the fort at their own time; eight months would not give him large tribute in kind. He failed in Transoxiana because he was the ally of a Shī'a; would coins bearing the Shī'a legend have passed current from a Samarkand mint? These various circumstances suggest that he could not have struck many coins of any kind in Samarkand.

The coins classed in the B.M. Catalogues as of Bābur's vassalage, offer a point of difficulty to readers of his own writings, inasmuch as neither the "Sulṭān Muḥammad" of No. 652 (gold), nor the "Sulṭān Bābur Bahādur" of the silver coins enables confident acceptance of them as names he himself would use.

I.—ON THE WEEPING-WILLOWS OF f. 190*b*.

THE passage omitted from f. 190*b*, which seems to describe something decorative done with weeping willows, (*bed-i-marwallah*) has been difficult to all translators. This may be due to inaccurate pointing in Bābur's original MS. or may be what a traveller seeing other willows at another feast could explain.

The first Persian translation omits the passage (I.O. 215 f. 154b); the second varies from the Turkī, notably by changing *sāch* and *sāj* to *shākh* throughout (I.O. 217 f. 150b). The English and French translations differ much (*Memoirs* p. 206, *Mémoires* i, 414), the latter taking the *mawallah* to be *mūla*, a hut, against which much is clear in the various MSS.

Three Turkī sources¹ agree in reading as follows:—

Mawallahlār-nī (or *muwallah* Hai. MS.) *kiltürdīlār*. *Bilmān sāchlārī-nīng yā 'amlī sāchlārī-nīng ārālārīgha k : msān-nī* (Ilminsky, *kamān*) *shākh-nīng* (Hai. MS. *ṣākh*) *aūzūnlūghī bila aīnjīga aīnjīga kīsib, qūūb tūrlār*.

The English and French translations differ from the Turkī and from one another:—

(*Memoirs*, p. 206) They brought in branching willow-trees. I do not know if they were in the natural state of the tree, or if the branches were formed artificially, but they had small twigs cut the length of the ears of a bow and inserted between them.

(*Mémoires* i, 434) On façonna des huttes (*mouleh*). Ils les établissent en taillant des baguettes minces, de la longueur du bout recourbé de l'arc, qu'on place entre des branches naturelles ou façonnées artificiellement, je l'ignore.

The construction of the sentence appears to be thus:—*Mawallahlār-nī kiltürdīlār*, they brought weeping-willows; *k : msān-nī qūūbtūrlār*, they had put *k : msān-nī*; *aīnjīga aīnjīga kīsib*, cut very fine (or slender); *shākh* (or *ṣākh*)-*nīng aūzūnlūghī*, of the length of a *shākh*, bow, or *ṣākh* . . .; *bilmān sāchlārī-nīng yā 'amlī sāchlārī-nīng ārālārīgha*, to (or at) the spaces of the *sāchlār* whether their (*i.e.* the willows') own or artificial *sāchlār*.

These translations clearly indicate felt difficulty. Mr. Erskine does not seem to have understood that the trees were *Salix babylonica*. The crux of the passage is the word *k : msān-nī*, which tells what was placed in the spaces. It has been read as *kamān*, bow, by all but the scribes of the two good Turkī MSS. and as in a phrase *horn of a bow*. This however is not allowed by the Turkī, for the reason that *k : msān-nī* is not in the genitive but in the accusative case. (I may say that Bābur does not use *nī* for *nīng*; he keeps strictly to the prime uses of each enclitic,

¹ Elphinstone MS. f. 150b; Haidarābād MS. f. 190b; Ilminsky, imprint p. 241.

nī accusative, *nīng* genitive.) Moreover, if *k : msān-nī* be taken as a genitive, the verbs *qūūb-tūrlār* and *kīsīb* have no object, no other accusative appearing in the sentence than *k : msān-nī*.

A weighty reason against changing *sāch* into *shākh* is that Dr. Ilminsky has not done so. He must have attached meaning to *sāch* since he uses it throughout the passage. He was nearer the region wherein the original willows were seen at a feast. Unfortunately nothing shows how he interpreted the word.

Sāchmāq is a tassel; is it also a catkin and were there decorations, *kimsān-nī* (things *kimsa*, or flowers Ar. *kim*, or something shining, *kimcha*, gold brocade) hung in between the catkins?

Ilminsky writes *mu'lah* (with *hamza*) and this de Courteille translates by hut. The Hai. MS. writes *muwallah* (marking the *zannma*).

In favour of reading *mawallah* (*mulah*) as a tree and that tree *Salix babylonica* the weeping-willow, there are annotations in the Second Persian translation and, perhaps following it, in the Elphinstone MS. of *nām-i-dirakht*, name of a tree, *dīdān-i-bed*, sight of the willow, *bed-i-mawallah*, mournful-willow. Standing alone *mawallah* means weeping-willow, in this use answering to *majnūn* the name Panj-ābīs give the tree, from Leila's lover the distracted *i.e.* Majnūn (Brandis).

The whole question may be solved by a chance remark from a traveller witnessing similar festive decoration at another feast in that conservative region.

J.—ON BĀBUR'S EXCAVATED CHAMBER AT QANDAHĀR (f. 208b).

SINCE making my note (f. 208b) on the wording of the passage in which Bābur mentions excavation done by him at Qandahār, I have learned that he must be speaking of the vaulted chamber

containing the celebrated inscriptions about which much has been written.¹

The primary inscription, the one commemorating Bābur's final possession of Qandahār, gives the chamber the character of a Temple of Victory and speaks of it as *Rawāq-i-jahān namāi*, World-shewing-portal,² doubtless because of its conspicuous position and its extensive view, probably also in allusion to its declaration of victory. Mīr Ma'sūm writes of it as a Pesh-tāq, frontal arch, which, coupled with Mohan Lall's word arch (*tāq*) suggests that the chamber was entered through an arch pierced in a parallelogram smoothed on the rock and having resemblance to the *pesh-tāq* of buildings, a suggestion seeming the more probable that some inscriptions are on the "wings" of the arch. But by neither of the above-mentioned names do Mohan Lall and later travellers call the chamber or write of the place; all describe it by its approach of forty steps, Chihil-zīna.³

The excavation has been chipped out of the white-veined limestone of the bare ridge on and below which stood Old Qandahār.³ It does not appear from the descriptions to have been on the summit of the ridge; Bellew says that the forty steps start half-way up the height. I have found no estimate of the height of the ridge, or statement that the steps end at the chamber. The ridge however seems to have been of noticeably dominating height. It rises steeply to the north and there ends in the naze of which Bābur writes. The foot of the steps is guarded by two towers. Mohan Lall, unaccustomed to mountains, found their ascent steep and dizzy. The excavated chamber of the inscriptions, which Bellew describes as "bow-shaped and dome-roofed", he estimated as 12 feet at the highest point,

¹ Muh. Ma'sūm *Bhakkari's Tārīkh-i-sind* 1600, Malet's Trs. 1855, p. 89; Mohan Lall's *Journal* 1834, p. 279 and *Travels* 1846, p. 311; Bellew's *Political Mission to Afghānistān* 1857, p. 232; *Journal Asiatique* 1890, Darmesteter's *La grande inscription de Qandahār*; J.R.A.S. 1898, Beames' *Geography of the Qandahār inscription*. Murray's *Hand-book of the Panjab etc.* 1883 has an account which as to the Inscriptions shares in the inaccuracies of its sources (Bellew & Lumsden).

² The plan of Qandahār given in the official account of the Second Afghan War, makes Chihil-zīna appear on the wrong side of the ridge, n.w. instead of n.e.

³ destroyed in 1714 A.D. It lay 3 m. west of the present Qandahār (not its immediate successor). It must be observed that Darmesteter's insufficient help in plans and maps led him to identify Chihil-zīna with Chihil-dukhtarān (Forty-daughters).

12 feet deep and 8 feet wide. Two sculptured beasts guard the entrance; Bellew calls them leopards but tigers would better symbolize the watch and ward of the Tiger Bābur. In truth the whole work, weary steps of approach, tiger guardians, commemorative chamber, laboriously incised words, are admirably symbolic of his long-sustained resolve and action, taken always with Hindūstān as the goal.

There are several inscriptions of varying date, within and without the chamber. Mohan Lall saw and copied them; Darmesteter worked on a copy; the two English observers Lumsden and Bellew made no attempt at correct interpretation. In the versions all give there are inaccuracies, arising from obvious causes, especially from want of historical *data*. The last word has not been said; revision awaits photography and the leisured expert. A part of the needed revision has been done by Beames, who deals with the geography of what Mīr Ma'ṣūm himself added under Akbar after he had gone as Governor to Qandahār in 1007 AH. (1598 AD.). This commemorates not Bābur's but Akbar's century of cities.

It is the primary inscription only which concerns this Appendix. This is one in relief in the dome of the chamber, recording in florid Persian that Abū'l-ghāzī Bābur took possession of Qandahār on Shawwāl 13th 928 AH. (Sep. 1st 1522 AD.), that in the same year he commanded the construction of this *Rawāq-i-jahānamāi*, and that the work had been completed by his son Kāmrān at the time he made over charge of Qandahār to his brother 'Askarī in 9 . . (mutilated). After this the gravure changes in character.

In the above, Bābur's title Abū'l-ghāzī fixes the date of the inscription as later than the battle of Kanwāha (f. 324b), because it was assumed in consequence of this victory over a Hindū, in March 1527 (Jumāda II 933 AH.).

The mutilated date 9 . . is given by Mohan Lall as 952 AH. but this does not suit several circumstances, *e.g.* it puts completion too far beyond the time mentioned as consumed by the work, nine years,—and it was not that at which Kāmrān made over charge to 'Askarī, but followed the expulsion of both full-brothers from Qandahār by their half-brother Humāyūn.

The mutilated date 9 . . is given by Darmesteter as 933 AH. but this again does not fit the historical circumstance that Kāmrān was in Qandahār after that date and till 937 AH. This date (937 AH.) we suggest as fitting to replace the lost figures, (1) because in that year and after his father's death, Kāmrān gave the town to 'Askarī and went himself to Hindūstān, and (2) because work begun in 928 AH. and recorded as occupying 70-80 men for nine years would be complete in 937 AH.¹ The inscription would be one of the last items of the work.

The following matters are added here because indirectly connected with what has been said and because not readily accessible.

a. Birth of Kāmrān.

Kāmrān's birth falling in a year of one of the *Bābur-nāma* gaps, is nowhere mentioned. It can be closely inferred as 914 or 915 AH. from the circumstances that he was younger than Humāyūn born late in 913 AH., that it is not mentioned in the fragment of the annals of 914 AH., and that he was one of the children enumerated by Gul-badan as going with her father to Samarkand in 916 AH. (Probably the children did not start with their father in the depth of winter across the mountains.) Possibly the joyful name Kāmrān is linked to the happy issue of the Mughūl rebellion of 914 AH. Kāmrān would thus be about 18 when left in charge of Kābul and Qandahār by Bābur in 932 AH. before the start for the fifth expedition to Hindūstān.

A letter from Bābur to Kāmrān in Qandahār is with Kehr's Latin version of the *Bābur-nāma*, in Latin and entered on the lining of the cover. It is shewn by its main topic *viz.* the despatch of Ibrāhīm Lūdī's son to Kāmrān's charge, to date somewhere close to Jan. 3rd 1527 (Rabī'u'l-awwal 29th 933 AH.) because on that day Bābur writes of the despatch (Hai. Codex f. 306b foot).

Presumably the letter was with Kāmrān's own copy of the *Bābur-nāma*. That copy may have reached Humāyūn's hands

¹ *Tārīkh-i-rashīdī* trs. p. 387; *Akbar-nāma* trs. i, 290.

(JRAS 1908 p. 828 *et seq.*). The next known indication of the letter is given in St. Petersburg by Dr. Kehr. He will have seen it or a copy of it with the B.N. Codex he copied (one of unequal correctness), and he, no doubt, copied it in its place on the fly-leaf or board of his own transcript, but if so, it has disappeared.

Fuller particulars of it and of other items accompanying it are given in JRAS 1908 p. 828 *et seq.*

K.—AN AFGHĀN LEGEND.

My husband's article in the Asiatic Quarterly Review of April 1901 begins with an account of the two MSS. from which it is drawn, *viz.* I.O. 581 in Pushtū, I.O. 582 in Persian. Both are mainly occupied with an account of the Yūsuf-zāi. The second opens by telling of the power of the tribe in Afghānistān and of the kindness of Malik Shāh Sulaimān, one of their chiefs, to Aūlūgh Beg Mīrzā *Kābulī*, (Bābur's paternal uncle,) when he was young and in trouble, presumably as a boy ruler.

It relates that one day a wise man of the tribe, Shaikh 'Uṣmān saw Sulaimān sitting with the young Mīrzā on his knee and warned him that the boy had the eyes of Yazīd and would destroy him and his family as Yazīd had destroyed that of the Prophet. Sulaimān paid him no attention and gave the Mīrzā his daughter in marriage. Subsequently the Mīrzā having invited the Yūsuf-zāi to Kābul, treacherously killed Sulaimān and 700 of his followers. They were killed at the place called Siyāh-sang near Kābul; it is still known, writes the chronicler in about 1770 AD. (1184 AH.), as the Grave of the Martyrs. Their tombs are revered and that of Shaikh 'Uṣmān in particular.

Shāh Sulaimān was the eldest of the seven sons of Malik Tāju'd-dīn; the second was Sulṭān Shāh, the father of Malik Aḥmad. Before Sulaimān was killed he made three requests

of Aūlūgh Beg ; one of them was that his nephew Aḥmad's life might be spared. This was granted.

Aūlūgh Beg died (after ruling from 865 to 907 AH.), and Bābur defeated his son-in-law and successor M. Muqīm (*Arghūn*, 910 AH.). Meantime the Yūsuf-zāi had migrated to Pashāwar but later on took Sawād from Sl. Wais (Ḥai. Codex ff. 219, 220^b, 221).

When Bābur came to rule in Kābul, he at first professed friendship for the Yūsuf-zāi but became prejudiced against them through their enemies the Dilazāk¹ who gave force to their charges by a promised subsidy of 70,000 *shāhrukhī*. Bābur therefore determined, says the Yūsuf-zāi chronicler, to kill Malik² Aḥmad and so wrote him a friendly invitation to Kābul. Aḥmad agreed to go, and set out with four brothers who were famous musicians. Meanwhile the Dilazāk had persuaded Bābur to put Aḥmad to death at once, for they said Aḥmad was so clever and eloquent that if allowed to speak, he would induce the Pādshāh to pardon him.

On Aḥmad's arrival in Kābul, he is said to have learned that Bābur's real object was his death. His companions wanted to tie their turbans together and let him down over the wall of the fort, but he rejected their proposal as too dangerous for him and them, and resolved to await his fate. He told his companions however, except one of the musicians, to go into hiding in the town.

Next morning there was a great assembly and Bābur sat on the daīs-throne. Aḥmad made his reverence on entering but Bābur's only acknowledgment was to make bow and arrow ready to shoot him. When Aḥmad saw that Bābur's intention was to shoot him down without allowing him to speak, he unbuttoned his jerkin and stood still before the Pādshāh. Bābur, astonished, relaxed the tension of his bow and asked Aḥmad what he meant. Aḥmad's only reply was to tell the Pādshāh not to question him but to do what he intended. Bābur again asked his meaning and again got the same reply.

¹ Hai. Codex, Index *syn.*

² It is needless to say that a good deal in this story may be merely fear and supposition accepted as occurrence.

Bābur put the same question a third time, adding that he could not dispose of the matter without knowing more. Then Aḥmad opened the mouth of praise, expatiated on Bābur's excellencies and said that in this great assemblage many of his subjects were looking on to see the shooting ; that his jerkin being very thick, the arrow might not pierce it ; the shot might fail and the spectators blame the Pādshāh for missing his mark ; for these reasons he had thought it best to bare his breast. Bābur was so pleased by this reply that he resolved to pardon Aḥmad at once, and laid down his bow.

Said he to Aḥmad, "What sort of man is Buhlūl *Lūdī*?" "A giver of horses," said Aḥmad.

"And of what sort his son Sikandar?" "A giver of robes."

"And of what sort is Bābur?" "He," said Aḥmad, "is a giver of heads."

"Then," rejoined Bābur, "I give you yours."

The Pādshāh now became quite friendly with Aḥmad, came down from his throne, took him by the hand and led him into another room where they drank together. Three times did Bābur have his cup filled, and after drinking a portion, give the rest to Aḥmad. At length the wine mounted to Bābur's head ; he grew merry and began to dance. Meantime Aḥmad's musician played and Aḥmad who knew Persian well, poured out an eloquent harangue. When Bābur had danced for some time, he held out his hands to Aḥmad for a reward (*bakhshīsh*), saying, "I am your performer." Three times did he open his hands, and thrice did Aḥmad, with a profound reverence, drop a gold coin into them. Bābur took the coins, each time placing his hand on his head. He then took off his robe and gave it to Aḥmad ; Aḥmad took off his own coat, gave it to Adu the musician, and put on what the Pādshāh had given.

Aḥmad returned safe to his tribe. He declined a second invitation to Kābul, and sent in his stead his brother Shāh Maṣṣūr. Maṣṣūr received speedy dismissal as Bābur was displeased at Aḥmad's not coming. On his return to his tribe Maṣṣūr advised them to retire to the mountains and make a strong *sangur*. This they did ; as foretold, Bābur came into their country with a large army. He devastated their lands

but could make no impression on their fort. In order the better to judge of its character, he, as was his wont, disguised himself as a Qalandar, and went with friends one dark night to the Mahūra hill where the stronghold was, a day's journey from the Pādshāh's camp at Diārūn.

It was the 'Īd-i-qurbān and there was a great assembly and feasting at Shāh Maṣṣūr's house, at the back of the Mahūramountain, still known as Shāh Maṣṣūr's throne. Bābur went in his disguise to the back of the house and stood among the crowd in the courtyard. He asked servants as they went to and fro about Shāh Maṣṣūr's family and whether he had a daughter. They gave him straightforward answers.

At the time Musammat Bībī Mubāraka, Shāh Maṣṣūr's daughter was sitting with other women in a tent. Her eye fell on the qalandars and she sent a servant to Bābur with some cooked meat folded between two loaves. Bābur asked who had sent it; the servant said it was Shāh Maṣṣūr's daughter Bībī Mubāraka. "Where is she?" "That is she, sitting in front of you in the tent." Bābur Pādshāh became entranced with her beauty and asked the woman-servant, what was her disposition and her age and whether she was betrothed. The servant replied by extolling her mistress, saying that her virtue equalled her beauty, that she was pious and brimful of rectitude and placidity; also that she was not betrothed. Bābur then left with his friends, and behind the house hid between two stones the food that had been sent to him.

He returned to camp in perplexity as to what to do; he saw he could not take the fort; he was ashamed to return to Kābul with nothing effected; moreover he was in the fetters of love. He therefore wrote in friendly fashion to Malik Aḥmad and asked for the daughter of Shāh Maṣṣūr, son of Shāh Sulaimān. Great objection was made and earlier misfortunes accruing to Yūsuf-zāī chiefs who had given daughters to Aūlūgh Beg and Sl. Wais (Khān Mīrzā?) were quoted. They even said they had no daughter to give. Bābur replied with a "beautiful" royal letter, told of his visit disguised to Shāh Maṣṣūr's house, of his seeing Bībī Mubāraka and as token of the truth of his story, asked them to search for the food he had hidden. They

searched and found. Aḥmad and Maṣṣūr were still averse, but the tribesmen urged that as before they had always made sacrifice for the tribe so should they do now, for by giving the daughter in marriage, they would save the tribe from Bābur's anger. The Maliks then said that it should be done "for the good of the tribe".

When their consent was made known to Bābur, the drums of joy were beaten and preparations were made for the marriage; presents were sent to the bride, a sword of his also, and the two Maliks started out to escort her. They are said to have come from Thana by M'amūra (?), crossed the river at Chakdara, taken a narrow road between two hills and past Talāsh-village to the back of Tīrī (?) where the Pādshāh's escort met them. The Maliks returned, spent one night at Chakdara and next morning reached their homes at the Mahūra *sangur*.

Meanwhile Runa the nurse who had control of Malik Maṣṣūr's household, with two other nurses and many male and female servants, went on with Bibī Mubāraka to the royal camp. The bride was set down with all honour at a large tent in the middle of the camp.

That night and on the following day the wives of the officers came to visit her but she paid them no attention. So, they said to one another as they were returning to their tents, "Her beauty is beyond question, but she has shewn us no kindness, and has not spoken to us; we do not know what mystery there is about her."

Now Bibī Mubāraka had charged her servants to let her know when the Pādshāh was approaching in order that she might receive him according to Malik Aḥmad's instructions. They said to her, "That was the pomp just now of the Pādshāh's going to prayers at the general mosque." That same day after the Mid-day Prayer, the Pādshāh went towards her tent. Her servants informed her, she immediately left her divan and advancing, lighted up the carpet by her presence, and stood respectfully with folded hands. When the Pādshāh entered, she bowed herself before him. But her face remained entirely covered. At length the Pādshāh seated himself on the divan and said to her, "Come Afghāniya, be seated." Again she

bowed before him, and stood as before. A second time he said, "Afghāniya, be seated." Again she prostrated herself before him and came a little nearer, but still stood. Then the Pādshāh pulled the veil from her face and beheld incomparable beauty. He was entranced, he said again, "O, Afghāniya, sit down." Then she bowed herself again, and said, "I have a petition to make. If an order be given, I will make it." The Pādshāh said kindly, "Speak." Whereupon she with both hands took up her dress and said, "Think that the whole Yūsuf-zāi tribe is enfolded in my skirt, and pardon their offences for my sake." Said the Pādshāh, "I forgive the Yūsuf-zāi all their offences in thy presence, and cast them all into thy skirt. Hereafter I shall have no ill-feeling to the Yūsuf-zāi." Again she bowed before him; the Pādshāh took her hand and led her to the divan.

When the Afternoon Prayer time came and the Pādshāh rose from the divan to go to prayers, Bībī Mubāraka jumped up and fetched him his shoes.¹ He put them on and said very pleasantly, "I am extremely pleased with you and your tribe and I have pardoned them all for your sake." Then he said with a smile, "We know it was Malik Aḥmad taught you all these ways." He then went to prayers and the Bībī remained to say hers in the tent.

After some days the camp moved from Dīārūn and proceeded by Bajaur and Tankī to Kābul.² . . .

Bībī Mubāraka, the Blessed Lady, is often mentioned by Gul-badan; she had no children; and lived an honoured life, as her chronicler says, until the beginning of Akbar's reign, when she died. Her brother Mīr Jamāl rose to honour under Bābur, Humāyūn and Akbar.

¹ Always left beyond the carpet on which a reception is held.

² This is not in agreement with Bābur's movements.

L.—ON MĀHĪM'S ADOPTION OF HIND-ĀL.

THE passage quoted below about Māhīm's adoption of the unborn Hind-āl we have found so far only in Kehr's transcript of the *Bābur-nāma* (i.e. the St. Petersburg Foreign Office Codex). Ilminsky reproduced it (Kāsān imprint p. 281) and de Courteille translated it (ii, 45), both with endeavour at emendation. It is interpolated in Kehr's MS. at the wrong place, thus indicating that it was once marginal or apart from the text.

I incline to suppose the whole a note made by Humāyūn, although part of it might be an explanation made by Bābur, at a later date, of an over-brief passage in his diary. Of such passages there are several instances. What is strongly against its being Bābur's where otherwise it might be his, is that Māhīm, as he always calls her simply, is there written of as Ḥaẓrat Wālida, Royal Mother and with the honorific plural. That plural Bābur uses for his own mother (dead 14 years before 925 AH.) and never for Māhīm. The note is as follows :—

"The explanation is this :—As up to that time those of one birth (*tūqqān*, womb) with him (Humāyūn), that is to say a son Bār-būl, who was younger than he but older than the rest, and three daughters, Mihr-jān and two others, died in childhood, he had a great wish for one of the same birth with him.¹ I had said 'What it would have been if there had been one of the same birth with him!' (Humāyūn). Said the Royal Mother, 'If Dil-dār Āghācha bear a son, how is it if I take him and rear him?' 'It is very good' said I."

So far doubtfully *might* be Bābur's but it may be Humāyūn's written as a note for Bābur. What follows appears to be by some-one who knew the details of Māhīm's household talk and was in Kābul when Dil-dār's child was taken from her.

"Seemingly women have the custom of taking omens in the following way :—When they have said, 'Is it to be a boy? is it

¹ i.e. Humāyūn wished for a full-brother or sister, another child in the house with him. The above names of his brother and sister are given elsewhere only by Gulbadan (f. 66).

to be a girl ?' they write 'Alī or Ḥasan on one of two pieces of paper and Fāṭima on the other, put each paper into a ball of clay and throw both into a bowl of water. Whichever opens first is taken as an omen ; if the man's, they say a man-child will be born ; if the woman's, a girl will be born. They took the omen ; it came out a man."

"On this glad tidings we at once sent letters off.¹ A few days later God's mercy bestowed a son. Three days before the news² and three days after the birth, they³ took the child from its mother, (she) willy-nilly, brought it to our house⁴ and took it in their charge. When we sent the news of the birth, Bhīra was being taken. They named him Hind-āl for a good omen and benediction."⁵

The whole may be Humāyūn's, and prompted by a wish to remove an obscurity his father had left and by sentiment stirred through reminiscence of a cherished childhood.

Whether Humāyūn wrote the whole or not, how is it that the passage appears only in the Russian group of Bāburiana ?

An apparent answer to this lies in the following little mosaic of circumstances :—The St. Petersburg group of Bāburiana⁶ is linked to Kāmran's own copy of the *Bābur-nāma* by having with it a letter of Bābur to Kāmran and also what *may be* a note indicating its passage into Humāyūn's hands (JRAS 1908 p. 830). If it did so pass, a note by Humāyūn may have become associated with it, in one of several obvious ways. This would be at a date earlier than that of the Elphinstone MS. and would explain why it is found in Russia and not in Indian MSS.⁷

¹ The "we" might be Māhīm and Humāyūn, to Bābur in camp.

² Perhaps before announcing the birth anywhere.

³ Presumably this plural is honorific for the Honoured Mother Māhīm.

⁴ Māhīm's and Humāyūn's quarters.

⁵ Gul-badan's *Humāyūn-nāma*, f. 8.

⁶ JRAS. A. S. Beveridge's Notes on *Bābur-nāma* MSS. 1900, [1902,] 1905, 1906, [1907,] 1908 (Kehr's transcript, p. 76, and Latin translation with new letter of Bābur p. 828).

⁷ In all such matters of the *Bābur-nāma* Codices, it has to be remembered that their number has been small.

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